AMOR Y RABIA

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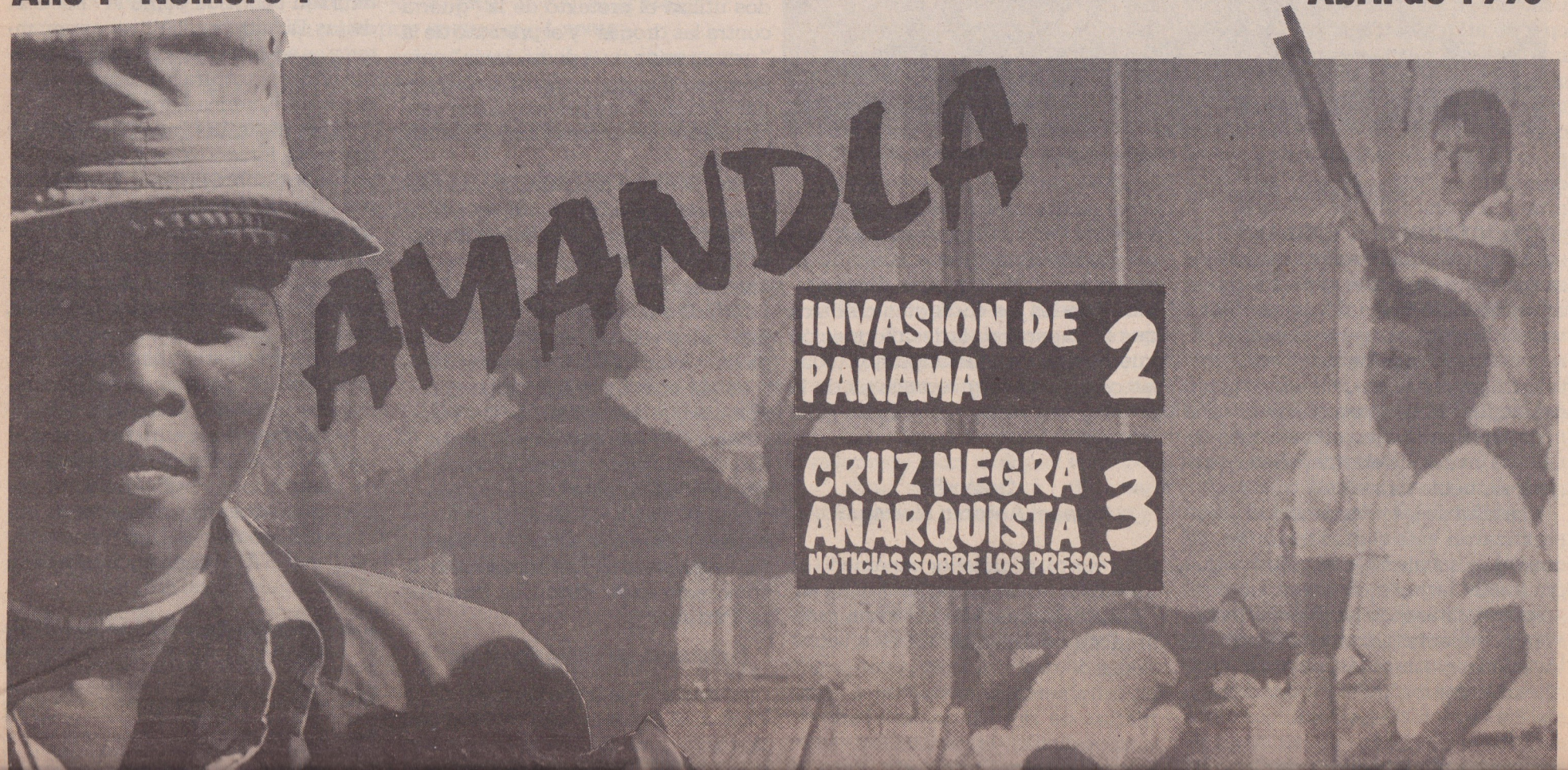

AMANDLA

INVASION DE PANAMA 2

CRUZ NEGRA ANARQUISTA 3
NOTICIAS SOBRE LOS PRESOS

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LA MATANZA DE MONTREAL 4

EN LA AVENIDA GOGOL 5

Sudáfrica Será Libre

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EN LA AVENIDA GOGOL 5
NOTICIAS DEL BLOQUE ORIENTAL

Sudáfrica Será Libre

POR CHRISTOPHER DAY

"¡AMANDLA! NGAWETHU! I-Afrika! Mayibuye!" Así gritaban los entusiastas manifestantes que saludaban al recien liberado Nelson Mandela después de permanecer 27 años y medio en los calabozos del apartheid. Las consignas de la hermosa multitud pronunciadas en lenguaje Xhosa significan en español: "¡El poder es nuestro! ¡Que Africa sea Africa de nuevo!"

La liberación del preso político más conocido del mundo culminó el proceso de legalización de las organizaciones prohibidas en Africa del Sur. Entre éstas se legalizó al Congreso Nacional Africano (organización a la que pertenece Mandela), el Congreso Panafricano y el Partido Comunista Sudafricano. Estos hechos conjuntamente con la liberación de otros presos políticos y el retiro de tropas sudafricanas de Namibia y Angola son motivos de celebración. Son victorias obtenidas gracias a la fuerza y determinación de las mayorías negras del Africa del Sur.

¿Por qué ahora?

¿Por qué el régimen racista ha concedido tanto y tan repentinamente después de tantas décadas de intransigencia? Simplemente porque tenía pocas alternativas para escoger. Todas las prohibiciones, los encarcelamientos y asesinatos cometidos durante la ley marcial no han podido contener la rabia de aquellos que han vivido y padecido por tanto tiempo la bota de los blancos supremacistas.

La economía de Sudáfrica está en crisis debido a las sanciones internacionales y el enorme aparato estatal que defiende los intereses de la minoría blanca. La victoria en Namibia de la Organización del Pueblo de Africa del Sudoeste ha expuesto la debilidad del estado del apartheid. Los sucesos acaecidos en Europa del Este también han tenido su impacto. El rápido derrumbamiento de una tiranía tras otra es una gran inspiración para todos los pueblos oprimidos del mundo. Y todo aquello que le produce una alegre sonrisa a los oprimidos llena de miedo el corazón de los poderosos y privilegiados. Al presidente F.W. de Klerk le toca ser el Ceaucescu del Africa del Sur. Los eventos de Europa Oriental también han tenido su efecto en el liderato de los grupos antiapartheid, en particular en el Congreso Nacional Africano.

Lo que el Congreso Nacional Africano quiere

El CNA cuenta con el apoyo mayoritario de los sudafricanos negros (azanios) porque tiene las mejores posibilidades de terminar con el odiado sistema del apartheid. Sin embargo esto no es lo único que le interesa al CNA. El liderato del CNA aspira convertirse en la nueva clase dirigente de la nueva Africa del Sur. Hasta ahora el modelo económico del CNA ha sido uno de capitalismo estatal: la nacionalización de los bancos y las empresas principales para así consolidar su poder. Aquí también los sucesos en Europa Oriental arrojan nueva luz sobre la situación.

El CNA está dominado por el partido comunista sudafricano — PCS — (25 de los 35 miembros del comité ejecutivo del CNA son del PCS), quien ha sido uno de los partidos comunistas más pro soviéticos fuera de los de Europa del Este. En el pasado esta lealtad ha significado predecibles apologías de los crímenes del estalinismo. Actualmente significa la perestroika y el cuestionamiento total del control del estado sobre la economía. Está por verse cómo todo esto

(Continúa en la página 5)

Pandillas Rivales Se Pelean En Panamá

Distrito de la Ciudad de Panamá bombardeo por fuerzas armadas de EU

POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

EL VIEJO SANTA ADELANTO SU regalito. Cambiando su folklórico traje navideño por el uniforme de camuflaje, cayó descargando bombas y metralla, esta vez sobre el pueblo panameño. De esta forma, en las primeras horas del 20 de diciembre, 13 mil soldados del ejército estadounidense comenzaban lo que sería la más reciente invasión del imperialismo yanqui al pueblo itsmeño.

La cifra de los invasores que protagonizaron este regalo terrorista de navidad ascendió a 26 mil, los que una vez después de tomar las posiciones militares de las Fuerzas de Defensa panameñas, arremetieron salvajemente contra la población civil. Bombardearon indiscriminadamente los barrios Nueve de Enero y Los Andes en el distrito de San Miguelito; así mismo la barriada de Chorrillo

otras instituciones estadounidenses "descrubren" al narcogeneral Noriega y desatan una fuerte campaña en su contra. Y nosotros, le preguntamos a todos los corderitos crédulos que se tragan toda la desinformación que emana de Washington y todas las campañas tergiversadoras de la prensa controlada: ¿De dónde salió Noriega?

¿Quién Es Manuel Antonio Noriega?

Es cierto, el dictador panameño es un vulgar narcotraficante que ha engordado su cuantiosa fortuna prestándose infinidad de veces a actividades de narcotráfico y participando en innumerables operaciones encubiertas de la CIA, como lavado de narcodólares destinados a armar

de inteligencia secreto israeli), en el equipo personal del exdictador pone en evidencia el conocimiento de las actividades de narcotráfico de Noriega por parte del gobierno norteamericano y de la CIA. Ya que este inescrupuloso personaje israeli estuvo implicado en el escándalo Iran-Contra, en la compra de armamentos a Israel con narcodólares para el proyecto de Oliver North de ayuda a la contra nicaragüense.

Realmente, por lo único que pudiera juzgárselo es por insubordinación, porqué es del conocimiento de todos que al monstruo lo engendraron los yanquis.

¿Por qué entonces los Estados Unidos utiliza el pretexto de la "guerra contra las drogas" y el pretexto de la "restauración de la democracia" para invadir a Panamá y eliminar a Noriega? ¿Por qué esta preocupación yanqui por los dictadores y los narcotraficantes?

En cuanto al narcotráfico y el contrabando específicamente, está el caso de Stroessner, quien era un conocido traficante de drogas en el cono sur americano. El depuesto "Baby Doc" no se nos quedaba atrás, controlando grah parte del movimiento de la droga en el área del Caribe, utilizando en muchas ocasiones las valijas diplomáticas y la inmunidad de sus representantes en el exterior para estos fines. En ninguno de estos casos, se les amenazó a estos conotados narcodictadores con invasiones a sus respectivos países, sino por el contrario, se mantenían y se financiaban dichos regímenes. Entonces ¿por qué en Panamá?

Hagamos un Poco de Historia

Al término de la guerra civil en Colombia, el gobierno colombiano aún no había tomado decisión alguna en

generar ingresos millonarios. Paulatinamente, fueron construidas siete bases norteamericanas, lo que hacía mayor el dominio y el poderío yanqui en el área. De inmediato, las grandes compañías capitalistas, las transnacionales y los bancos, hicieron blanco en Panamá, encontrando el medio apropiado para sus operaciones, tanto legales como ilícitas.

Después de la firma del tratado de 1942, Estados Unidos aumentó su presencia militar en Panamá y elevó considerablemente el número de bases e instalaciones. Se edificó el cuartel general de Comando Sur estadounidense, lugar que fuera sede hasta 1985 de la Escuela de Las Américas, también conocida como la "Escuela de los Dictadores." Allí se amamantan y se adiestran en el "arte" de la represión y la tortura los futuros dictadores de América Latina.

No es hasta 1977 que Estados Unidos se ve forzado a negociar un nuevo tratado sobre el canal, presionado por General Omar Torrijos. El desarrolla una fuerte campaña "antiimperialista," inspirada en conceptos burgueses y nacionalistas, que sumado a un oportunismo superlativo y a una ambición desmedida de riquezas y poder. Torrijos arrojaba en total una mezcla de social democracia-militarista-nacionalista. Asesinaba a cientos de guerrilleros (estudiantes y campesinos), eliminando todo foco de insurrección "subversiva," y coexistía (pese a sus exigencias de entrega del canal) con el intervencionis-

(Continúa en la página 6)

Amor y Rabia es realizado por una red de simpatizantes los cuales están de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política de *Amor y Rabia* y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía para que *Amor y Rabia* sea una realidad. Las decisiones mayores y la política general se determinan cuando todos los simpatizantes se reunen mediante una conferen-

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George Bush trata de justificar la invasión contra viento y marea. Habla de la "necesidad" de la invasión: 1) como parte de la "guerra contra las drogas"; 2) para dar por terminada la dictadura militar y "restituir" la democracia al pueblo panameño; 3) a consecuencia del "eminente peligro" que corrían los ciudadanos estadounidenses residentes en dicho país. Pero, por muchos que sean los esfuerzos por encubrir los verdaderos objetivos de la invasión, este salta a la vista: mantener la hegemonía y el dominio absoluto del canal.

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Hay un nombre entre los asesores personales de Noriega que muy bien pudiera aclarar cualquier tipo de duda. La presencia de Michael (Mike) Harari, exoficial de la Mossad (cuerpo

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Al término de la guerra civil en Colombia, el gobierno colombiano aún no había tomado decisión alguna en referencia a las negociaciones con Estados Unidos para la construcción de un canal en el itsmo de Panamá que comunicara ambos océanos. Esto llevó al gobierno yanqui a incitar y auspiciar la rebelión de los separatistas panameños en favor de la "independencia" de esta región de Colombia. Para esto, se apoyarían en las "garantías" que le daban los yanquis de defenderlos de "cualquier agresión colombiana," con el compromiso de que el nuevo Estado le vendiera 16 kilometros de ancho del itsmo para construir el susodicho canal.

Después de hechas estas negociaciones, los yanquis le pagaron 25 millones de dólares al gobierno de turno de Colombia, lo que facilitó acallar todo comentario.

Rápidamente, el canal, comenzó a

dores de América Latina.

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Consejo Editorial

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Restaurada la Democracia a Punta de Bayonetas

"Causa Justa," como cínicamente se bautizara la operación, fue un "éxito," según la presidencia yanqui. Mediante la invasión, impusieran al títere gobierno de Endara, después de que este prestara juramento como tal en una de las bases norteamericanas momentos después de iniciarse la agresión.

El 3 de enero, después de haberse refugiado durante once días en la Nunciatura Vaticana, el exdictador panameño, Manuel Antonio Noriega, se entrega voluntariamente a las autoridades norteamericanas, al llegar a acuerdos con el Vaticano y La Casa Blanca. Allí fue arrestado bajo cargos de narcotráfico y trasladado a Estados Unidos donde espera ser juzgado en la ciudad de Miami.

Desde finales de 1988 y principios del pasado año, el Departamento de Estado, la Casa Blanca, la DEA y narcodólares destinados a armar grupos paramilitares, etc. Pero, el "honorable" presidente de los Estados Unidos de América, que hoy le acusa y trata de justificar la invasión al pueblo panameño esgrimiendo estos cargos en contra, ¿dónde estaba mientras esto ocurría? Este presidente "moralista y ejemplar," que hoy "lucha" contra las drogas, ¿dónde estaba mientras estas operaciones se realizaban? Acaso no era él, el director de la siniestra "compañía" (antes de compartir el gobierno del mundo con su homólogo moscovita) acaso no era él quien daba las órdenes para que estas operaciones se efectuaran.

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MIAMI: Un Poco De Justicia Por Fin

POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

CULPAR DE HOMICIDIO IMPREmeditado a un agente de policía que da muerte de un disparo en la cabeza al conductor de una motocicleta en marcha y a su acompañante quien muriera horas más tarde a consecuencia de los golpes recibidos al estrellarse la misma, debía ser un veredicto seguro y sencillo. Sin embargo, pese a las claras evidencias, no lo es en medio de una sociedad racista y de un sistema policíaco.

A pesar de que el caso no era nada complejo (ya que el asesinato era un hecho probable), lograr un veredicto de culpabilidad para el agente William Lozano en la ciudad de Miami, donde durante la última década hemos visto a la policía cometer impunamente atropellos y asesinatos contra la comunidad negra, era casi imposible. Pero esta vez, otras presiones fuera del control de la fiscalía ejercieron gran influencia en el proceso e hicieron cambiar la historia.

Las masivas protestas y las agresivas rebeliones en las barriadas negras a todo lo largo y ancho del condado Dade desatadas durante tres días tras el asesinato de los jóvenes de la raza negra, Clement Lloyd y Allan Blanchard, obligaban a las autoridades a hacer justicia aunque fuese en contra de su voluntad.

Esta no es la primera vez que las comunidades negras de la ciudad de Miami se rebelan. En ocasiones anteriores y por iguales razones, el pueblo negro se ha lanzado a las calles exigiendo respeto y justicia. Solo que, a lo largo de estos diez años, el racismo y la represión se habían im-

Residentes de Overtown demostran para celebrar culpabilidad de Lozano

los puercos criminales (con perdón de los puercos), que habían cometido asesinatos de jóvenes negros. Pero también, a través de todos estos años de racismo e injusticia, se acumuló el dolor, la ira y la furia del pueblo negro, lo que se tradujo en la militancia y la combatividad antiracista que esta vez hizo en Miami la diferencia.

Los Trucos y Las Patrañas Resultaron en Vano

El abogado defensor del agente Lozano utilizó todos los trucos habidos y por haber, tratando de probar (lo improbable) su inocencia. Como estrategia, recurría a la ya vieja y conocida "Defensa McDuffie." Empleo para tratar de trasladarlo de condado y el constante comentario de la prensa prostituida exponiendo pruebas de las tácticas de defensa propia y narrando historias novelescas sobre la "intachable vida" de este "buen" agente del orden que se intentaba castigar por tratar de cumplir con su deber.

A esto también se uniría la colaboración de la policía, quienes entregarían a la prensa informaciones desacreditadoras sobre los jóvenes asesinados con el fin de moldear a la opinión pública y de ir preparando a la comunidad para la aceptación de un fallo favorable al agente Lozano.

Pero finalmente, los trucos y las patestigos del hecho que declararon durante el juicio, a pesar de las maniobras por desmoralizarlos, intimidarlos y confundirlos, se mantuvieron seguros en sus testimonios, desmoronando los falsos argumentos de "defensa propia" de Lozano y sus abogados.

De esta forma, el pasado 7 de diciembre, fue declarado culpable el policía William Lozano de los cargos de homicidio impremeditado, estallando en júbilo los protagonistas de esta victoria, el pueblo rebelde de las barriadas negras de Overtown, Liberty City, Opa-Locka y Cocoanut Grove.

Una Pequeña Victoria

Desde luego, esto no es más que una pequeña victoria de un sector de la población negra estadounidense. Conocemos que crímenes como este se cometen constantemente a lo largo de la unión americana. Sabemos que el racismo es un mal que tenemos que arrancar de una vez y para siempre de la faz de la Tierra, por lo que aún no queda mucho por luchar. Pero, esta pequeña victoria ha representado una gran derrota para el sistema, acostumbrado a la impunidad de sus esbirros. El veredicto de culpabilidad de este policía no solo lo condena a él, también condena a todo un sistema basado en el racismo, la opresión y la explotación.

Esta vez, los jóvenes rebeldes de las comunidades negras de Miami demostraron que cuando se lucha por la justicia y el respeto de los derechos humanos, decididamente se triunfa, dejándole algo bien claro al sistema racista y a la reacción.★

de culpabilidad para el agente William Lozano en la ciudad de Miami, donde durante la última década hemos visto a la policía cometer impunamente atropellos y asesinatos contra la comunidad negra, era casi imposible. Pero esta vez, otras presiones fuera del control de la fiscalía ejercieron gran influencia en el proceso e hicieron cambiar la historia.

Las masivas protestas y las agresivas rebeliones en las barriadas negras a todo lo largo y ancho del condado Dade desatadas durante tres días tras el asesinato de los jóvenes de la raza negra, Clement Lloyd y Allan Blanchard, obligaban a las autoridades a hacer justicia aunque fuese en contra de su voluntad.

Esta no es la primera vez que las comunidades negras de la ciudad de Miami se rebelan. En ocasiones anteriores y por iguales razones, el pueblo negro se ha lanzado a las calles exigiendo respeto y justicia. Solo que, a lo largo de estos diez años, el racismo y la represión se habían impuesto, quedando siempre absueltos

Residentes de Overtown demostran para celebrar culpabilidad de Lozano

los puercos criminales (con perdón de los puercos), que habían cometido asesinatos de jóvenes negros. Pero también, a través de todos estos años de racismo e injusticia, se acumuló el dolor, la ira y la furia del pueblo negro, lo que se tradujo en la militancia y la combatividad antiracista que esta vez hizo en Miami la diferencia.

Los Trucos y Las Patrañas Resultaron en Vano

El abogado defensor del agente Lozano utilizó todos los trucos habidos y por haber, tratando de probar (lo improbable) su inocencia. Como estrategia, recurría a la ya vieja y conocida "Defensa McDuffie." Empleando retrasos en el caso, mociones para tratar de trasladarlo de condado y el constante comentario de la prensa prostituida exponiendo pruebas de las tácticas de defensa propia y narrando historias novelescas sobre la "intachable vida" de este "buen" agente del orden que se intentaba castigar por tratar de cumplir con su deber.

A esto también se uniría la colaboración de la policía, quienes entregarían a la prensa informaciones desacreditadoras sobre los jóvenes asesinados con el fin de moldear a la opinión pública y de ir preparando a la comunidad para la aceptación de un fallo favorable al agente Lozano.

Pero finalmente, los trucos y las patrañas resultaron en vano. Los seis

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¡Miami No Es Johanesburgo!

Cruz Negra Anarquista

POR INSURRECTION

EL JUEVES, 2 DE FEBRERO DE 1989, Alfredo Bonanno, de 52 años y Giuseppe Stasi de 26, fueron arrestados en Bergamo, Italia, después del robo a una joyería. La policía se encontraba esperando por los dos compañeros a la salida de la tienda, siendo inmediatmente inmovilizados, arrestados y conducidos a la jefatura de policía de Bergamo. Ambos fueron golpeados y torturados durante 10 horas. Después, fueron transferidos a la prisión local, donde se les encarceló, acusados de robo a

Alfredo y Giuseppe, también especificaron, que cualquier intento de atribuirle otros acciones similares o presuponer, partiendo de este incidente, la existencia de una organización armada imaginaria, sería considerado una componeda, destinada a golpear a los compañeros activamente comprometidos en la lucha social contra la explotación y la opresión.

Alfredo Bonanno, por más de 20 años, ha sido un activo anarquista revolucionario. Es uno de los mejores teóricos del movimiento anarquista italiano. Su obra es conocida a través

El ministerio público, que presentó la audiencia unos 20 libros de Bonanno sobre teoría anarquista, dijo que el juez instructor había orientado el sumario hacia una acción destinada al autofinanciamiento de los anarquistas, pero que este era un argumento en el que no podía profundizar.

El abogado Venturini de Catania, que junto a Luciano Pezzota asistía a los anarquistas, declaró en el juicio: "Bonanno es uno de los cerebros europeos de primer plano, de los más conocidos, autor de obras importan-

Escríbele a los compañeros, Alfredo Bonanno y Giuseppe Stasi, a la siguiente dirección: vía Gleno 61, Bergamo, Italia. Tus cartas le mostrarán a las autoridades que el caso de Alfredo y Giuseppe está ampliamente defundido y correspondencia rompe el aislamiento a que son forzados los presos revolucionarios por el sistema.

Envía dinero para ayudar a pagar los gastos legales del caso (solamente en liras para Italia o libras para Gran Bretaña), a nombre de Jean Weir y diríjalo a: Elephant Editions,

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El mismo día, la DIGOS, (policía política italiana) sin autorización, efectuó una serie de registros en la casas de los anarquistas en Catania, Bergamo y Milan. La policía no encontró nada y los compañeros rehusaron contestar los interrogatorios.

El lunes, 6 de febrero, Alfredo y Giuseppe, fueron interrogados por el juez de instrucción. Ellos declararon, que el robo lo habían realizado motivados por necesidades económicas personales y que ellos, como anarquistas, consideraban justa la redistribución del bienestar en una sociedad basada en la desigualdad social y económica, posición que en el pasado los anarquistas siempre compartieron.

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Finalmente, el lunes 2 de octubre de 1989, se celebró en el Palacio de Justicia de Bergamo, el juicio contra los militantes anarquistas italianos. La sentencia fue de cinco años y medio de carcel para Bonanno y de cuatro años y ocho mesas para Stasi.

El juicio se celebró en ausencia de los acusados (quienes por principios, se negaron a compadecer ante el tribunal) y en medio de un importante dispositivo policial en las calles de Bergamo.

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El abogado fue interrumpido por el presidente cuando declaraba: "Bonanno no puede ser un hombre peligroso, solo para el poder."

Bonanno en sus declaraciones, había asumido toda la responsibilidad del acto, y dijo, que si Stasi lo secundó fue por razones de amistad y de afinidad ideológica.

Qué Puedes Hacer

Difunde la noticia del caso en tu área y discútelo con tus amigos. Prepárate a ejercer presión sobre el gobierno italiano y sobre las corporaciones italianas.

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Gracias por tu apoyo. ★

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LA MATANZA DE MONTREAL

POR BULLDOZER

EL ASESINATO A TIROS DE 14 mujeres y las heridas de otras nuevo y de cuatro hombres, en una de las peores matanzas de la historia reciente de Canada, ha provocado el mayor debate nacional sobre las actitudes antifeministas en la sociedad canadiense. Marc Lepine, de 25 años de edad, se dirigía hacia el aula de ingeniería de la Universidad de Montreal el 6 de diciembre de 1989, discriminando a las mujeres de los hombres, abría fuego contra ellas con un rifle semiautomático calibre 22, mientras gritaba: "Ustedes simplemente son una partida de feministas." Instantes después, Lepine abandonó la escuela, dando caza a cuanta mujer se cruzaba a su paso, quitándose finalmente la vida.

La masacre conmocionó a un país que se vanagloria de no tener violencia, ni la obsesión por las armas que tienen en los Estados Unidos. Pero la respuesta de muchos (tanto hombres como mujeres), ante este hecho fue la de afrontarlo (y aceptarlo) como la actuación de un maniático. La matanza es síntoma de la rutinaria violencia a que la mujer está expuesta todos los días. Una mujer es violada cada 17 minutos. Una de cada ocho mujeres es asaltada por su marido cada año. Una de cada cuatro mujeres es asaltada sexualmente alguna vez en su vida. Esto sugiere que esta es la primera vez que las mujeres han sido masacradas por estar orgullosas de ser mujeres. Pero, en realidad, son constantemente asesinadas mujeres simplemente por estar orgullosas de serlo; lo que raramente ocurre de forma tan espectacular, ni tan abiertamente. Las prostitutas son blanco favorito de los hombres que quieren expresar su odio hacia las mujeres mediante el asesinato. Los frecuentes asesinatos de "mujeres de la calle" en Canada (esto no pasa tan comunmente en Estados Unidos), no son desconocidos. Pero esto no debe ocultar la realidad: las mujeres que están en la calle no están más expuestas a ser atacadas o asesinadas; de igual forma son atacadas y asesinadas por sus maridos o por cualquier otro familiar o conocido las mujeres que permanecen en sus casas.

Irónicamente, hubo un fuerte contraataque oponiéndose a lo que se consideró la explotación de la tragedia por parte de las feministas para sus propios fines políticos. Esto es irónico, en el sentido más hipócrita de la palabra, porque el propio Lepine dejó realmente en claro que él había atacado a las feministas porque ellas eran las culpables de sus desastres en la vida y en el amor. La carta que portaba (clasificada como "carta suicida") dejaba en claro que los asesinatos fueron un acto político. También tenía en su poder una lista de 15 prominentes mujeres de Quebec, las que aparentemente eran víctimas potenciales. El escogió a las estudiantes de ingeniería como víctimas sin selección previa alguna, pero intentando poner a estas "mujeres intrusas" bajo la tradicional dominación masculina, a la cual es tratada de someterse, pero donde a su vez era renegado. Las mujeres masacradas no estaban políticamente activas — una de ellas, tratando de hacer desistir a Lepine, le confesaba que ella no era feminista, momentos antes de que este la matara — pero, simplemente estaban haciendo lo que ellas querían hacer: ejerciendo el derecho de cursar la carrera que ellas habían escogido.

Las mujeres en Thunder Bay, Ontario, fueron severamente criticadas cuando realizaron una vigilia con mujeres solamente. En Montreal, algunas mujeres estuvieron tratando de organizar otra vigilia para sacudirse de sus espaldas los signos que enlazan esta masacre con la violencia a que día a día castiga a la mujer. En un show nacional con llamadas telefónicas, un energúmeno habló vehementemente sobre como muchos hombres sentían la misma ira que Lepine y que las mujeres deberían ser más atacadas, porque muchos hombres podrían repetir estas acciones. Un comentarista de radio fue llamado "flojo" porque apoyó la posición feminista respecto a la masacre, como si los verdaderos hombres no pudieran apoyar a las mujeres en sus luchas. Se han reportado "bromas crueles" (al menos dos incidentes) en donde se han visto envueltas varias mujeres apuntadas por armas de juguete.

Pero, el rabioso contraataque antifeminista ha sido puesto dentro del contexto (por ambos mujeres y hombres), de las implicaciones políticas y sociales de este vicioso ataque. En encuestas realizadas, el 40% de los entrevistados están de acuerdo con la posición. Muchos de los comentarios en los medios de difusión fueron sorprendentemente buenos. Dos de cada tres diarios en Montreal, por ejemplo, acusaron en sus editoriales la conexión entre los asesinatos y la misoginia (aversión u odio hacia la mujer) rutinaria que sufren la mayoría de mujeres en Canada. Esto no niega que hubo mucha basura escrita, tanto por mujeres como por hombres, los cuales trataron de personalizar las relaciones masculino-femeninas argumentando que culpar a los hombres en general era erróneo porque: "mi novio, mi padre, mis amigos, no son iguales, ellos no son responsables." Pero la intensidad del contraataque reflejó la fuerza de la divulgación natural del análisis político, el cual mostró que el acto "insano" de un hombre no puede ser separado de la dinámica social de una sociedad la cual créa y alimenta sus propios patrones particulares de enajenación. La expresión social de la violación, el esfuerzo por deshacer el dolor y la angustia y la inflicción tales actos sobres aquellos que son "so-

(Continúa en la página 6)

Declaración Política de *Amor y Rabia*

Amor y Rabia es un periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario antiautoritario en Norteamérica. Proveeremos co-

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la revolución social.

Amor y Rabia es antiestatista.

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados como quiera que estos se autotitulen: Capitalistas o comunistas.

Amor y Rabia es anticapitalista.

Apoyamos todos los esfuerzos por derrocar toda forma de dominio de clase y poder estatal. Apoyamos lxs huelgas y otras formas de lucha obrera por el control de los medios de producción.

Amor y Rabia es antiracista.

Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y militamos por la creación de una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los mexica-

pulsar a Estados Unidos de Centro America, Puerto Rico y de todos los otros territorios. Apoyamos la destrucción del Estado Federal de EU. Apoyamos la destrucción del Imperio Soviético y la liberación de todos sus pueblos. Estamos a favor de la destrucción del Apartheid, del FMI, del Banco Mundial, de las corporaciones multinacionales y de todas las otras formas de imperialismo.

Amor y Rabia es antisexista.

Estamos a favor de la liberación y de la autodeterminación de la mujer. Esto significa, como mínimo, el incuestionable derecho reproductivo de todas las mujeres sin diferencias de razas o estado económico y por un mundo sin violencia sexista. Reconocemos que

Amor y Rabia se esfuerza especialmente en promover una plataforma para la juventud. Reconocemos que el futuro revolucionario está en manos de la juventud.

Amor y Rabia apoya la lucha contra la dominación de la Naturaleza.

Reconocemos que el sistema industrial actual, construido sobre la explotación del planeta y de sus inhabitantes, ha causado una crisis ecológica que amenaza la supervivencia en el planeta. Apoyamos los movimientos de resistencia contra la contínua destrucción del planeta. Vemos la necesidad de una transformación revolucionaria de nuestras relaciones con el planeta y las especies que lo habitan. Queremos detener la destrucción del medio natural. Queremos detener e invertir el envenenamiento del aire, de la tierra y del agua. Estamos en contra de la explotación de animales en las granjas industriales y en los sistemas de prueba. Nos oponemos a los

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Amor y Rabia es revolucionario.

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperación, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerla realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento autogestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio que sea necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre y de la miseria generada por el sistema actual. Apoyamos la necesidad del desarrollo de un movimiento de lucha como paso dirigido hacia la realización de la revolución social.

Amor y Rabia es antiestatista.

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados como quiera que estos se autotitulen: Capitalistas o comunistas.

Amor y Rabia es anticapitalista.

Apoyamos todos los esfuerzos por derrocar toda forma de dominio de clase y poder estatal. Apoyamos lxs huelgas y otras formas de lucha obrera por el control de los medios de producción.

Amor y Rabia es antiracista.

Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y militamos por la creación de una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de los mexicanos, de los chicanos, de los indígenas nativo-americanos y otros grupos oprimidos. Reconcocemos la especial opresión de los afroamericanos desde los tiempos de la esclavitud hasta el presente y la lucha del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos por su liberación y autodeterminación. Luchamos contra el resurgimiento del racismo hacia los asiáticos y los árabes. Nos colocamos al frente en la lucha contra los racistas fachas cabezas rapadas (skinhead), el Ku Klux Klan, los Nazis y el terror policíaco.

Amor y Rabia es antiimperialista.

Apoyamos el derecho a la autodeterminación de los pueblos oprimidos por las diferentes formas de imperialismo. Luchamos por expulsar a Estados Unidos de Centro America, Puerto Rico y de todos los otros territorios. Apoyamos la destrucción del Estado Federal de EU. Apoyamos la destrucción del Imperio Soviético y la liberación de todos sus pueblos. Estamos a favor de la destrucción del Apartheid, del FMI, del Banco Mundial, de las corporaciones multinacionales y de todas las otras formas de imperialismo.

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Amor y Rabia apoya la liberación de las lesbianas, de los homosexuales y los bisexuales.

Rechazamos la heterosexualidad obligatoria de la familia patriarcal y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una diversidad de relaciones humanas consensuales y sexuales.

Amor y Rabia apoyará las luchas de los jóvenes contra su específica opresión.

está en manos de la juventud.

Amor y Rabia apoya la lucha contra la dominación de la Naturaleza.

Reconocemos que el sistema industrial actual, construido sobre la explotación del planeta y de sus inhabitantes, ha causado una crisis ecológica que amenaza la supervivencia en el planeta. Apoyamos los movimientos de resistencia contra la contínua destrucción del planeta. Vemos la necesidad de una transformación revolucionaria de nuestras relaciones con el planeta y las especies que lo habitan. Queremos detener la destrucción del medio natural. Queremos detener e invertir el envenenamiento del aire, de la tierra y del agua. Estamos en contra de la explotación de animales en las granjas industriales y en los sistemas de prueba. Nos oponemos a los ataques del Estado contra el Movimiento por la Liberación de los Animales.

Esta declaración no intenta incluir todos los asuntos que conciernen a los anarquistas y antiautoritarios, ni *Amor y Rabia* pretende un entendimineto a plenitud o una plena unidad de criterios sobre todos los temas. No pretende representar el espectro completo de la diversidad en el movimiento anarquista actual. No evitaremos la controversia. Le pediremos siempre ideas y sugerencias a nuestros lectores y a otros activistas esforzándonos por mejorar nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en que militamos.

Sudáfrica

(Continúa de la página 1)

afecta el programa del CNA.

El partido nacional de de Klerk se encuentra en la ventaja de negociar con un oponente que está en el medio de una profunda crisis ideológica. Los capitalistas más listos de Africa del Sur saben que no tienen otra alternativa que negociar con el CNA. Ellos no están dispuestos a conceder ahora lo que eventualmente tendrán que conceder después, pero sí saben que tienen que negociar. Ellos saben que tendrán que conceder el derecho de una persona — un voto y demas derechos democráticos a la mayoría negra. Los rápidos cambios en la orientación del PCS ha aliviado los miedos originados por la retórica socialista y nacionalizadora. Los capitalistas liberales esperan llegar a un acuerdo con el PCS donde ellos puedan retener un significativo poder económico.

El CNA, por su parte, probablemente no es totalmente hostil a este tipo de acuerdo. Significativos sectores de la economía sudafricana están actualmente nacionalizados y su manejo burocrático ha ocasionado muchos de los males económicos del país. Más relevante aún es que el CNA no quier arriesgarse a desarrollar completamente el potencial revolucionario del pueblo azanio por miedo a quedarse rezagado en el polvo. Ya existen sectores significativos del movimiento antiapartheid que aspiran a más de lo que el CNA tiene que ofrecer.

Acciones autónomas

En el preciso instante en que Mandela estaba siendo liberado de prisión, jóvenes negros saqueaban las tiendas del centro de la ciudad de Cape Town. El CNA se unió al régimen del apartheid para denunciarlos. Al finalizar su discurso de 25 minutos, Mandela les pidió a todos los participantes de la manifestación que lo recibia, que al dispersarse lo hicieran sin hacer nada que "llevara a otros a decir que nosotros no podemos controlar a nuestra propia gente." Estos incidentes resumen muchas de las cosas que actualmente ocurren en Sudáfrica. La gente de las aldeas está lista para la revolución. Ellos poseen años y años de autoorganización mientras que los líderes estrellas del CNA han intentado de controlar el movimiento desde el exilio. La carta de triunfo del CNA en la mesa de negociaciones consiste en su capacidad para "controllar a su propia gente." Si no lo pueden hacer, los blancos dominantes no tendrán a nadie con quien negociar. Una transferencia negociada del poder podría muy bien significar grandes ganancias para ciertos sectores de los blancos capitalistas. El desmantelamiento ordenado del apartheid podría originar una verdadera clase media negra y consecuentemente la creación de nuevos mercados internos para las mercencías sudafricanas. Tony Bloom, el Donald Trump afrikaaner, ha llamado consecuentemente la atención sobre estas ganancias en sus intervenciones a favor de las negociaciones con el CNA.

Camaradas en Sudáfrica

Sin embargo existen muchas fuerzas dentro del movimiento antiapartheid que son independientes del CNA. Algunas de ellas como el PAC (que rechaza la multiracialidad del CNA) aspira al igual que el CNA a ser la nueva clase dominante. Pero otras como las uniones independientes agrupadas en COSATU (la principal federación laboral) y los jóvenes de las aldeas llamados Camaradas pueden representar formas de autoorganización auténticas y revolucionarias. La liberación de Mandela y la legalización de las organizaciones prohibidas les fueron arrancadas al régimen del apartheid por la insurgencia popular. Estos sucesos marcan el comienzo de una nueva etapa de la lucha revolucionaria en Azania. Como enemigos del apartheid nuestra solidaridad es para el pueblo de Africa del Sur y no para ningún partido o grupo de líderes.

(Continúa en la página 6)

En La Avenida Gogol

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(Continúa en la página 6)

En La Avenida Gogol

POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

CON MOTIVO DE LA CRIMINAL invasión yanqui al pueblo panameño, el Movimiento Eco-pacifista "Sendero Verde" condenó la cobarde agresión militar de la potencia occidental al pequeño pueblo itsmeño, mediante su vocero Orlando Polo, quien agregó las exigencias de retirada inmediate de las tropas norteamericanas por parte del grupo. Esta declaración fue la única condena no oficialista que se dio a conocer en la isla.

El Movimiento Eco-pacifista de Cuba "Sendero Verde" trabaja en coordinación con la "Asociación Naturista," grupo que fuera desalojado de su comuna cooperativista ("Colonia Naturista," originalmente fundada en 1935 por anarquistas españoles), en las inmediaciones de Guanabacoa, provincia Habana, y fuera obligado a disolverse por orden de la dictes peligros ambientales.

El movimiento Eco-pacifista de Cuba se declara a través de su principal representante, Orlando Polo, antiimperialista, antimilitarista y antibelicista a la vez que aboga por la paz y la vida y por un mundo cooperativista y mutualista mediante una sociedad libertaria.

Hechos Principales de Hostigamiento Contra el Movimiento Eco-Pacifista y la Asociación Naturista Vida

21 de agosto de 1989: El local de la Asociación Naturista Vida que al mismo tiempo servía de vivienda a sus principales representantes, Orlando Polo y su esposa, Mercedes Paez, es cerrado bajo orden de disolución (incluso con las propiedades personales de ambos quienes fueron dejados casi desnudos en la calle) y un terreno de tres hectares que servía

29 de septiembre: Orlando Polo es trasladado a la sala especial de mayor rigor del Hospital Psiquiátrico de la Habana (antigua Mazorra) conocido como Castellanos, pretendiendo abrirle un expediente psiquiátrico además de encausarlo por un delito de "propaganda enemiga" por su oposición pública a la guerra de Angola, el estacionamiento de tropas cubanas en el exterior y al alto presupuesto militar.

En la actualidad, Orlando Polo y Mercedes Paez no tienen lugar de residencia y continúan siendo objeto de hostigamiento por parte de la dictadura castrista.

Cruz Roja Cubana Rechaza Carta de Familiares de Presos

Un grupo de familares de presos políticos del Combinado del Este, se personó a la dirección de la Cruz Roja Nacional Cubana acompañado por

le suspendido la dieta médica desde hace dos meses, se encuentra en ayuno voluntario de pan y agua, sufriendo además de un sangramiento rectal causado por el parasitismo intestinal que padece. Todo lo anterior ha traído como consecuencia que el paciente ha tenido una pérdida de 50 libras de peso y un estado depauperado de su organismo. Hemos analizado que se puede producir un agravamiento del estado de salud del paciente señalado, ya que no tiene familiares que puedan velar por el restableciemiento y cumplimiento de las necesidades biológicas, psicológicas y sociales de Frómeta Cabellero. Es por lo que un grupo de madres de presos políticos, nos dirigimos a esta prestigiosa sociedad humanitaria, para solicitar de la misma, que se valore la necesidad de ingreso y estudio médico de caso para determinar su estado de salud, complicaciones

En La Avanzada Ecologista

POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

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Cuenta en la actualidad con una red de más de 200 activistas a través de toda la isla, trabajando en el antibelicismo, el antimilitarismo, la insumisión, y contra las armas y la energía nuclear. También realiza activas protestas en contra del envio de jóvenes cubanos a la guerra en Angola y contra la movilización masiva de la población para fines militaristas.

En diciembre de 1988, declararon en su programa básico que el MEC abogaba por la lucha por la protección ambiental desde una posición no-gubernamental, por lo que han venido exigiéndole al gobierno información sobre la planta nuclear soviética que se instala en la ciudad de Cienfuegos, así como otros eminentes peligros ambientales.

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23 de agosto: Orlando Polo, quien se encontraba en huelga de hambre junto a Mercedes Paez desde el día 21, es detenido por un operativo de la Seguridad del Estado y conducido a su cuartel general (Villa Marista) donde es mantenido incomunicado en una de sus celdas.

24 de agosto: Una turba paramilitar asalta el local que ya había sido sellado y destruye la biblioteca de la agrupación mediante el fuego, única biblioteca de estas características que contenía ejemplares de gran valor.

22 de septiembre: Orlando Polo es detenido nuevamente y conducido al Departamento de Seguridad del Estado (Villa Marista).

29 de septiembre: Orlando Polo es trasladado a la sala especial de mayor rigor del Hospital Psiquiátrico de la Habana (antigua Mazorra) conocido como Castellanos, pretendiendo abrirle un expediente psiquiátrico además de encausarlo por un delito de "propaganda enemiga" por su oposición pública a la guerra de Angola, el estacionamiento de tropas cubanas en el exterior y al alto presupuesto militar.

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Un grupo de familares de presos políticos del Combinado del Este, se personó a la dirección de la Cruz Roja Nacional Cubana acompañado por el activista pro derechos humanos, Jesús Yanes Pelletier, para entregar una carta solicitando atención médica para el preso político Rodolfo Frómeta Caballero, quien se encuentra en grave estado de salud por la invasión de un parásito mortal. Pero esta institución, en boca del funcionario Vega, se negó a recibirla, alegando que debía ser dirigida a la Dirección de Cárceles y Prisiones, la cual hasta ahora se ha negado a escuchar las demandas de estos familiares, o si no a la Cruz Roja Internacional.

"El paciente Rodolfo Frómeta Caballero, el cual se encuentra cumpliendo sanción de privación de libertad en la prisión del Combinado del Este, padece de una giardasia con tres años de evolución y habiéndosele suspendido la dieta médica desde hace dos meses, se encuentra en ayuno voluntario de pan y agua, sufriendo además de un sangramiento rectal causado por el parasitismo intestinal que padece. Todo lo anterior ha traído como consecuencia que el paciente ha tenido una pérdida de 50 libras de peso y un estado depauperado de su organismo. Hemos analizado que se puede producir un agravamiento del estado de salud del paciente señalado, ya que no tiene familiares que puedan velar por el restableciemiento y cumplimiento de las necesidades biológicas, psicológicas y sociales de Frómeta Caballero. Es por lo que un grupo de madres de presos políticos, nos dirigimos a esta prestigiosa sociedad humanitaria, para solicitar de la misma, que se valore la necesidad de ingreso y estudio médico de caso para determinar su estado de salud, complicaciones que el parasitismo le ha causado, suministro de una dieta blanda como parte del tratamiento, eliminar las deficientes condiciones higiénicas sanitarias que puedan agravar el deficiente estado de salud del paciente. Solicitamos que los medicamentos que traigamos a ustedes se hagan llegar al paciente Frómeta Caballero, lo cual, junto a la mejoría que anteriormente solicitamos, haga posible el restablecimiento del caso. Igualmente pedimos se le brinde trato humano acorde con sus necesidades. Agradecemos la atención que sabemos ustedes son capaces de brindar tan humanamente."

Firmado: Grupo de Esposas y Madres de Presos Políticos del Combinado del Este. ★

Montreal

(Continúa de la página 4)

cialmente más débiles," más que una aberacción de los valores sociales, reflejan algunas de las más básicas contradicciones de nuestra sociedad.

El odio a la mujer ha penetrado tanto que apenas es reconocido. Como hombre, uno solamente tiene que escuchar los comentarios de los demás hombres que nos rodean para darnos cuenta que a las mujeres se les somete al desprecio y a la burla; que los pocos logros que la mujer ha sido capaz de alcanzar en los últimos años son aceptados con resentimiento; que las mujeres a menudo son vistas como un conjunto de partes de un cuerpo y no como individuos con sus propias necesidades, aspiraciones y derechos. La violencia contra la mujer es permitida de multiples maneras: en chistes, en comentarios, en la tendencia de los hombres de culpar a las mujeres, tanto a las que tienen como a las que no tienen, por su infelicidad y por sus ineptitudes personales.

Aún antes de los asesinatos, la violencia contra la mujer en las universidades había comenzado a exteriorarse. En la universidad de Queen en Kingston, Ontario, una campaña, cuyo lema fue "¡NO significa NO!," conducida por el Centro de la Mujer, en contra de la violación cometida por conocidos y "amigos" (el sexo forzado contra la mujer por parte de un hombre que considera que "se le debe el sexo" como parte de una salida), había sido enfrentado por una contracampaña. Fueron colocados carteles machistas como parte de esta contracampaña que decían: "¡NO! significa dame más cerveza" y "¡NO! significa amárrame." Aún después de la masacre de Montreal, los estudiantes masculinos responsables de esta nefasta campaña permanecieron ciegos con respecto a la conexión entre su actitud "chistosa" en referencia a la violación y el asesinato sistemático de las mujeres.

Violar, como quiera que sea, parece ser poco entendido por los hombres. Una encuesta reciente en las Estados Unidos encontró que el 15% de los hombres admitió que ellos violarían a una mujer si supieran que podrían escapar sin castigo. Pero, el 50% dijeron que ellos forzarían al sexo a una mujer, si supieran que no serían castigados. La diferencia entre estos dos totales provoca preguntas perturbadoras en cuanto hasta que punto el 35% de los hombres escogerían entre violar y forzar al sexo. Violar es forzar el sexo; puede que varíe el grado de violencia, pero no cambía la naturaleza de este acto. No existe diferencia si la mujer es la esposa del violador, su novia, su amiga o cualquier otra. NO significa NO.

Una de las críticas de la perspectiva feminista sobre la matanza fue que ellas estaban haciendo distinciones entre la violencia cometida contra las mujeres y la violencia cometida contra los hombres y estaban siendo hipotéticamente sexistas, sugiriendo que las mujeres como víctimas eran más significativas que los hombres. Es cierto que muchos hombres también sufren como víctimas de la violencia. Pero, también es verdad que generalmente son hombres quienes cometen violencia contra ambos mujeres y hombres. Lo mismo es válido para la violencia y el abuso sexual dirigido contra los niños. Para hablar de los crímenes cometidos contra los hombres no debemos minimizar la magnitud de los crímenes cometidos contra las mujeres, pero deberíamos, además, convencer a los hombres de que la facilidad con que recurrimos a la violencia debe ser atendida y tratada. Lepine cuando niño fue una víctima de las palizas de su padre. Esto ilustra como la violencia de una generación perturba a la otra. Y esto debemos detenerlo.

Los asesinatos de Montreal nos dejó claro a muchos de los que apoyamos los cambios sociales y políticos que debemos responsabilizar a los hombres por su violencia. Esto no es solamente una cuestión de mujeres, ni se trata simplemente de actos de violencia manifiestos. Puede que nosotros no abofetiemos a las mujeres, pero cuando las rebajamos, cuando nos negamos a escucharlas o a tomarlas en serio, cuando nos sentimos amenazados por sus intenciones de ganar fuerza en lo personal y colectivamente; entonces, estamos incorporando algunos de los elementos más destructivos de la sociedad a nuestro movimiento. Somos cómplices si nos mantenemos en silencio cuando los hombres a nuestro alrededor ofenden verbalmente a las mujeres en la calle o cuando alzan la voz de su furia y su resentimiento contra ellas. No es fácil desafiar con efectividad la arraigada misoginia de esta cultura. Las actividades sexistas y racistas indican que los hombres de la clase trabajadora se identifican más con sus amos blancos que con las mujeres y con las personas de otras razas que le rodean. Nada puede unir con más rapidez a un grupo de hombres, sin importarles cuantas divisiones sociales o raciales existan entre ellos, que una mujer pasándoles por al lado. Como hombres políticos, debemos enfrentarnos al desafío del sexismo y la violencia contra las mujeres; de lo contrario, los cambios sociales solo serían un cambio de guardia, mantiéndose el mismo perro con di-

Sudáfrica

(Continúa de la página 5)

Levantar las sanciones de Gran Bretaña

Inmediatamente después de la liberación de Mandela, Margaret Thatcher anunció que la Gran Bretaña levantaría algunas de las sanciones en contra de Sudáfrica, a pesar de que miles de sudafricanos, una gran cantidad de ellos jóvenes, continúan pudiéndose en las cárceles del apartheid y la ley marcial permanece. La liberación de conocidos líderes con el propósito de negociar el futuro del Sudáfrica hasta que se desmantele el apartheid. Como demuestra la Thatcher no podemos fiarnos de los políticos para mantener la presión. La acción directa en contra de las principales corporaciones que tienen negocios en Sudáfrica es una manera en que la gente común y corriente podemos imponerle sanciones a de Klerk y a su sistema racista.

La acción directa produce satisfacción

La campaña de acción directa "Al infierno con la Shell" le ha proporcionado un diente adicional al boycott mundial en contra de la compañía tos de servicio de la Shell porque quieren un movimiento de solidaridad respetable y domesticado que puedan controlar. Sin embargo, los ataques tienen mucho apoyo popular y aumentan los costos en los que incurre la Shell para llevar a cabo negocios en Sudafrica. La campaña "Al infierno con la Shell" apenas ha comenzado en Norte Amrica. El verano pasado en el área de la bahía de San Francisco un activista le echo químicos a varias cisternas de gasolina de la Shell para así arruinar la gasolina. La verdadera solidaridad con el pueblo de Sudáfrica se concretiza en la defensa de esos jóvenes de Cape

permitida de múltiples maneras: en chistes, en comentarios, en la tendencia de los hombres de culpar a las mujeres, tanto a las que tienen como a las que no tienen, por su infelicidad y por sus ineptitudes personales.

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Tomado de Prison News Service

Sudáfrica

(Continúa de la página 5)

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Panamá

(Continúa de la página 2)

mo yanqui. Mientras tanto, aceleraba el crecimiento de la burocracia estatal, agigantaba los poderes del Estado y nombraba para altos puestos gubernamentales a viejos dirigentes del Partido Comunista.

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Desde entonces, Noriega tomó las riendas de Panamá, unas veces oculto tras los rostros títeres que prestaban al juego y otras a las clara, asumiendo esa especie de Príncipe de nuestros tiempos, contando con la ayuda y el respaldo de la CIA, de la Casa Blanca y del Departamento de Estado. Y ese militarote corrupto, inescrupuloso, narcotraficante y todo lo demás que ahora se le imputan siempre tenía la venia y el apoyo yanqui.

Tras la 'Guerra Contra Las Drogas' Se Oculta el Intervencionismo Yanqui

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donde fue trasladado (después de diferentes escalas en Miami, San Juan, Puerto Rico y Nuevo York) a la Penitenciaría de Marion siendo encarcelado. No vamos a entrar a cuestionar la culpabilidad de Juan Ramón Matta de los cargos que Estados Unidos le imputa. Pero sí creo que debemos analizar esta impunidad con que el gobierno yanqui secuestra a un ciudadano de un país cualquiera y lo traslada hacia una cárcel de máxima seguridad en Estados Unidos, emparado en la llamada "guerra contra las drogas."

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beración de conocidos líderes con el propósito de negociar el futuro del capital blanco de Sudáfrica no es la liberación del pueblo de Azania. Debemos mantener la presión para incrementar el aislamiento económico de

nado un diente adicional al boycott mundial en contra de la compañía Shell por sus negocios con Sudáfrica. Los políticos liberales de Europa occidental han condenado los repetidos bombazos incendiarios en pues-

blo de Sudáfrica se concretiza en la defensa de esos jóvenes de Cape Town que han llevado la lucha más allá del control de los políticos y han sabido tomar sus acciones autónomas como una inspiración. ★

les solo serían un cambio de guardia, mantiéndose el mismo perro con diferente collar, en vez de los cambios fundamentales que transformen para siempre esta sociedad. ★

Tomado de Prison News Service

Panamá

(Continúa de la página 2)

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El logro de sus exigencias colmaría la copa de los yanquis, lo que les llevaría a la maquiavélica trama de la desaparición física. Y a esta idea se sumaría la oscura figura del segundo "hombre fuerte" de Panamá, Manuel Antonia Noriega, quien para estos tiempos era jefe de la Seguridad del Estado y trabajaba para la "compañía."

Al producirse la "misteriosa" catástrofe que causara la muerte a Torrijos y a sus acompañantes fue evidente que el hecho no era accidental, como también fue evidente que Manuel Antonio Noriega y la CIA eran los beneficiarios directos del hecho. Desde entonces, Noriega tomó las riendas de Panamá, unas veces oculto tras los rostros títeres que prestaban al juego y otras a las clara, asumiendo esa especie de Príncipe de nuestros tiempos, contando con la ayuda y el respaldo de la CIA, de la Casa Blanca y del Departamento de Estado. Y ese militarote corrupto, inescrupuloso, narcotraficante y todo lo demás que ahora se le imputan siempre tenía la venia y el apoyo yanqui.

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Los objetivos que, según el gobierno de Estados Unidos, se perseguían con la invasión a Panamá, quedó demostrado que no eran más que una farsa para justificar las verdaderas intenciones intervencionistas y el deseo de dominio imperialista. Prueba de ello es la permanencia en el poder de elementos corruptos, contrabandistas y narcotraficantes. De 1069 oficiales leales a Noriega, más de 980 permanecen en sus puestos, es decir, que solamente han sido separados de sus cargos castrenses menos del 10% de la oficialidad. El actual comandante en jefe de la recien bautizada Fuerza Pública (antiguas Fuerzas de Defensa, lo que ahora con 2000 efectivos de menos), Eduardo Herrera, es un ejemplo contundamente de contrabando y corrupción. Actualmente agente de la CIA y de la Mossad israeli, posee un amplio historial de complicidad desde los días en que era escolta de Torrijos. Más tarde se convertiría en hombre de confianza de Noriega, quien después lo nombrara embajador de Panamá en Israel, lugar desde donde le coordinaba la compra de armamentos con narcodólares destinados al contrabando en Centro y Sur América. Al ser destituido por Noriega por desavenencias, marchó a Miami, donde de inmediate, al servicio de la CIA, comenzó a recibir $10.000 mensuales de sueldo, más $20.000 viáticos de los fondos panameños congelados. Compró con dinero en efectivo una lujosa residencia por valor de $135.000.

Tras la "guerra contra las drogas" se oculta el intervencionismo yanqui. Con esta excusa, se han firmado convenios de extradición y hoy se extradita a narcotraficantes, mañana a "terroristas." Y así, sucesivamente el Imperio, con las largas garras, eliminará del camino a todo aquel que se interponga a sus intereses.

Recordermos el caso de Juan Ramón Matta, un ciudadano hondureño, residente en Tegucigalpa, Honduras, quien fuera detenido en su casa el 5 de abril de 1988 por agente de la DEA. Acusado por el gobierno de Estados Unidos de ser uno de los magnates del narcotráfico, fue conducido a la embajada yanqui en dicho país centroamericano, desde donde fue trasladado (después de diferentes escalas en Miami, San Juan, Puerto Rico y Nuevo York) a la Penitenciaría de Marion siendo encarcelado. No vamos a entrar a cuestionar la culpabilidad de Juan Ramón Matta de los cargos que Estados Unidos le imputa. Pero sí creo que debemos analizar esta impunidad con que el gobierno yanqui secuestra a un ciudadano de un país cualquiera y lo traslada hacia una cárcel de máxima seguridad en Estados Unidos, emparado en la llamada "guerra contra las drogas."

No olvidemos la eminente intervención yanqui en el Peru, donde recientemente fue construida una base militar norteamericana y realizen "operaciones antidrogas" tropas equipadas con modernos armamentos. Tampoco podemos pasar por alto la amenaza de la Casa Blanca de enviar parte de su flota de guerra y al portaviones *J.F. Kennedy* a las costas colombianas, argumentando la misma excusa de la "guerra contra las drogas."

Hoy, el gobierno norteamericano ha cumplido con los acuerdos del tratado Carter-Torrijos, ha designado a un memo de origen panameño como administrador del canal, mientras prepara la fabricación de un gobierno títere para cuando se efectúe el traspaso del canal en el año 2000. ★

¡Yankee Go Home!

crats are trying to take it back from him — the reason for Earth Day. But they still want to keep it vague and unfocused. They do not intend to educate people about the total nature of the crisis. In fact most of the Earth Day material does not concentrate on politics, even liberal politics. Its main focus is on unpolitical individual activities.

Earth Day 1990™ has produced a lengthy list of "Earth Day Solutions." Almost all are *individual* actions such as "use public transportation. . .Decrease consumption of meat. . .Take showers, not baths. . .Reduce consumption wherever possible. . . ." This is fine but it is not the basis for building a political movemement. Politics requires *collective* action. (Consider the implications of a Rockefeller telling working people to "reduce consumption"!) However, there *are a few political "solutions" proposed* — ending with "contact your elected representatives. . .communicating your concerns." This is not the stuff of which "miracles" are made.

Every Sector of Our Society Needs Drastic Transformation

The liberal program will not work to save the Earth and actually supports the causes of the Earth's destruction.

The changes neeeded "to save the Earth" are drastic changes, transformations of every sector of our society.

As just one example, we will have to eliminate the reliance on nonrenewable and polluting sources of energy, particularly petroleum. But our whole way of life in the U.S. depends on the widespread, "cheap" use of petroleum oil and gasoline: the cars we drive, the trucks that carry goods, the layout of suburbs and cities dependent on... ductive resources. . .workers' control of the immediate labor process. . . participatory confederations of democratic community assemblies. . . ." "3. . . .A sweeping program of social and ecological reconstruction. . . ." This is a list of programs, including demilitarization of the economy ("via a non-nuclear, non-interventionist, home-based defense policy"), conversion to ecological technologies (such as solar-based renewable energy" and "organic agriculture"), and public provision of basic human needs (such as "free child care"). "4. (Opposition to all hierarchy.) . . .Our vision of an ecological society requires an end to racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and all forms of coercive human relationships. "5. A political movement. . .outside of and basically opposed to the establishment political parties. . . . A new politics. . .locally-rooted. . .extra-electoral and electoral. . . . "6. We seek to build a broad-based ecological (Green-identified) movement that opposes capitalism because it is destroying the planet."

This program is not opposed to the concerns of most ordinary people who will turn out for the Earth Day. It is, however, opposed to the politics of the liberal Democrats and the environmentalists who are managing Earth Day for their own ends.

The right wing of the Green movement has already attacked the Wall Street action proposal. Lorna Salzman of the NY Green Party and others have attacked it for supposedly being dominated by the Left Green Network. But their real complaint is that it is *anti-capitalist*.

But it *is* capitalism which "is destroying the planet!" Capitalism is a system of quantifiable growth for the

Shortly after Mandela's release, Margaret Thatcher announced that Great Britain would lift some of the sanctions against South Africa. But thousands of South Africans, including many youth, continue to rot in apartheid's prisons. Martial law remains. The release of well-known leaders for the purpose of negotiating a future for white capital is not liberation for the Azanian people. The pressure must be maintained to increase the economic isolation of South Africa until apartheid is dismantled. As Thatcher's moves indicate, we cannot rely on politicians to keep the pressure on. Direct action against major corporations doing business in South Africa is a way that ordinary people can put sanctions on de Klerk and his racist system.

Direct Action Gets Satisfaction

The Shell to Hell campaign of directing popular support and raise the costs for Shell of continued business with South Africa. The Shell to Hell campaign has hardly started in North America. In the Bay Area, last summer, activists added chemicals to Shell pumps to ruin the gasoline.

The movement against apartheid in South Africa and the international solidarity movement are deeply interconnected. In both there are politicians who want to channel the righteous anger of millions towards their own aspirations for personal power. Real solidarity with the people of South Africa means defending the youth of Cape Town and elsewhere who have pushed the struggle beyond the control of politicians and taking their actions as an inspiration. ★

Letters

(Continued from page 2)

and with her, accused me of "faking it." How could I fake a bunch of hair pulled out my head that was found on the ground near where it all took place?

I must be having post-trauma syndrome experiences from being raped so long ago. I will never feel completely safe again. When one woman is not safe, then none of us are safe.

To get off the subject, I don't consider myself a feminist, rather I consider myself pro-women's liberation, yet when that guy in Canada killed all those women yelling "You're all a bunch of feminists," I moved a couple of feet closer to calling myself a feminist. I really feel that women's lives have become cheaper, easier to take, easier to rape.

No, Doctor Freud, I don't have abnormal relationships with men because of being raped. I did have to laugh to myself when I went to see my psychiatrist. I see him from time to time as I have a mental illness which is in remission. He sure started scribbling down notes when I told him I was afraid of getting raped again.

Back 20 years ago, when the women's liberation movement was radical, even revolutionary at times, gangs of women patrolled the streets, fighting attackers, rapists, whoever was hurting women. Let's do it again!

LM
Cincinnati, Ohio

— although a growing minority is being radicalized. Liberals want to keep the "free enterprise system," and "representative democracy" but stop individuals from being so piggy. They think that electing "good people" to office and regulating the corporations will result in an end to the ecological crisis.

George Bush appealed to this widespread belief in the last presidential election, by calling himself an "environmentalist" (and exposing the hypocrisy of his Democratic opponent). He did not mean it, but knew it would be a vote getter; he knew that people were very concerned about the "environment" but also that peoples' concern was vague and unfocused, wanting an end to pollution but not demanding any change in the political or economic system.

Bush did well from his "environmentalist" pitch and now the Democrats are trying to take it back from him — the reason for Earth Day. But they still want to keep it vague and unfocused. They do not intend to educate people about the total nature of the crisis. In fact most of the Earth Day material does not concentrate on politics, even liberal politics. Its main focus is on unpolitical individual activities.

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people from the Clamshell Alliance anti-toxics activists from New England, the Burlington, Vermont Peace and Justice Coalition, the Stop the Slaughter Coalition, the Vermont Feminist Network, the Amis/es de la Terre of Quebec, Colorado's Rocky Mountain Peace Center, the Vermont All Species Project, the Youth Greens, New Options Newsletter, and others. A group of high school students in southern Vermont is working on a handbook for the action.

The written proposal lists six points as a "basis of agreement" for organizations which join the action's coordinating council. They are: "1. The military-industrial systems of both the East and the West are the root cause of social and ecological destruction. . . ." "2. Genuine grassroots political and economic democracy are necessary. . . . This includes. . .cooperative organization and community ownership of productive resources. . .workers' control of the immediate labor process. . . participatory confederations of democratic community assemblies. . . ." "3. . . .A sweeping program of social and ecological reconstruction. . . ." This is a list of programs, including demilitarization of the economy ("via a non-nuclear, non-interventionist, home-based defense policy"), conversion to ecological technologies (such as solar-based renewable energy" and "organic agriculture"), and public provision of basic human needs (such as "free child care"). "4. (Opposition to all hierarchy.) . . .Our vision of an ecological society requires an end to racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and all forms of coercive human relationships. "5. A political movement. . .outside of and basically opposed to the establishment political parties. . . . A new politics. . .locally-rooted. . .extra-electoral and electoral. . . . "6. We seek to build a broad-based ecological

The organizers ask the affinity groups to agree to be nonviolent — toward persons and property. Nonviolence has often been used as an excuse for keeping a demonstration nonthreatening to the establishment. At other times it may be part of a genuinely militant action. (Liberals emphasize the *civil* in "civil disobedience" and radicals emphasize the *disobedience*.)

South Africa

(Continued from page 7)

tions were forced on the apartheid regime by insurgency from below. They mark the beginning of a new period for the revolutionary struggle in Azania. As enemies of apartheid, our solidarity is with the people of South Africa, not with any party or group of leaders.

British Sanctions Lifted

Shortly after Mandela's release, Margaret Thatcher announced that Great Britain would lift some of the sanctions against South Africa. But thousands of South Africans, including many youth, continue to rot in apartheid's prisons. Martial law remains. The release of well-known leaders for the purpose of negotiating a future for white capital is not liberation for the Azanian people. The pressure must be maintained to increase the economic isolation of South Africa until apartheid is dismantled. As Thatcher's moves indicate, we cannot rely on politicians to keep the pressure on. Direct action against major corporations doing business in South Africa is a way that ordinary people can put sanctions on de Klerk and his racist system.

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Letters

(Continued from page 2)

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Earth Day

(Continued from page 6)

Earth Day 1990™ letter (on green paper) signed by Mo Udall, board member and long-time chairman of the House of Representatives' Interior Committee. He writes (his emphasis):

"On Sunday, April 22, millions of men, women and children — in thousands of cities, towns and villages across America and worldwide — *will work a miracle*. We will act to *save the earth*. All great moments start with *the people — because that's the way change happens in our representative government. And unless people themselves vigorously push for change, you can't expect congress or the Bush administration to act.*"

Most people agree with the program of the liberal environmentalists — although a growing minority is being radicalized. Liberals want to keep the "free enterprise system," and "representative democracy" but stop individuals from being so piggy. They think that electing "good people" to office and regulating the corporations will result in an end to the ecological crisis.

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pending on cars and trucks, the food grown with artificial fertilizer and sprayed with chemical pesticides and shipped in trucks wrapped in plastic, the artificial fabrics we wear, the plastic we use as furniture, the goods produced in factories that use gasoline motors and plastic parts and distribution by truck and so on.

The Plan to Radicalize Earth Day

In contrast, Green activists are planning to highlight corporate and State responsibility for ecological destruction. They are planning a range of dramatic and creative activities during Earth Week, culminating in direct action at the stock exchanges in San Francisco and in Canada in Montreal, Ottawa and Vancouver.

The Earth Day Wall Street Action includes the Left Green Network, people from the Clamshell Alliance anti-toxics activists from New England, the Burlington, Vermont Peace and Justice Coalition, the Stop the Slaughter Coalition, the Vermont Feminist Network, the Amis/es de la Terre of Quebec, Colorado's Rocky Mountain Peace Center, the Vermont All Species Project, the Youth Greens, New Options Newsletter, and others. A group of high school students in southern Vermont is working on a handbook for the action.

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sake of growth, profit accumulation for the sake of profit, centralization of capital for the sake of centralization, driven by competiton in a market which is out of control of the community. Such a system is naturally destructive of the ecology. A green program must be anti-capitalist as it must be anti-Statist.

The Wall Street Action

The April 23 action will be under the slogan, "Shut Down Wall Street!" It's not clear whether the demonstration will actually shut down the stock exchange, but some disruption may be expected. The proposal says, "...Affinity groups are encouraged to take the initiative to effectively obstruct the opening of the Stock Exchange and otherwise illustrate a Green message."

The organizers ask the affinity groups to agree to be nonviolent — toward persons and property. Nonviolence has often been used as an excuse for keeping a demonstration nonthreatening to the establishment. At other times it may be part of a genuinely militant action. (Liberals emphasize the *civil* in "civil disobedience" and radicals emphasize the *disobedience*.)

In this case I believe the organizers mean to have a militant action. For example, the proposal states, "No one is authorized to negotiate an orchestrated arrest scenario beforehand with the authorities."

The plan to radicalize Earth Day offers an important opportunity to revolutionary anarchists. Greens are organizing to present a program with which we are in general agreement. This is a serious challenge to liberal control of the ecological movement that deserves our support. ★

Contact:
Earth Day Wall Street Action
PO Box 1128
Old Chelsea Station
New York, NY 10011-1128
(201) 846-5934

South Africa

(Continued from page 7)

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other crumble with embarrassing speed is even more fun than drinking beer! (Well almost.)

Many are now wondering about the status of "neither East nor West" and "détente from below"-type activity; that is, the solidarity and networking among various oppositions (for instance the anti-nuclear movement) in East and West.

Many wonder if this movement is over. Not at all. In fact, it's needed now more than ever, given that Western capitalism is poised to eat the East alive, through debt and capital penetration. That gives East, West, Third World, and Fourth World ("Indians," nomads, tribal peoples, land-based peoples) a common enemy. No longer do we just have moral solidarity with each other's struggles, we have a common physical target in the form of Western financial/industrial circles everywhere, in collusion with local Communist Party elites and sectors of the opposition elite (e.g. Walesa and his boys). The economic integration of the world is such that transnationalism is needed *more than ever.*

(Old-fashioned Stalinism, however, is alive and well in China, North Korea, and Albania, with Pol Pot in Cambodia and the Shining Path in Peru. Cuba is iffy at the moment. Stalinism is not at all dead and could become resurgent.)

Opposition movements in the Soviet bloc *remain.* These are made up of anarchists, independent socialists, draft resisters, ecologists, anti-nuclear activists, workers, women, youth, gays. The battle for relative civil liberties may appear to be won, but the war for everything else is on. (Varying repression — like censorship and political prisoners — remains in

tacts between anarchists in both blocs can now be cemented. In April an Italian group is sponsoring a large gathering of East and West anarchists — the first time ever. In a sense, we are at point zero. Now we can really move.

Here's a menu of a few juicy quotes to give you a taste of the economics that are going down now:

"We were all joyous at the scenes of people climbing on the (Berlin) wall, but the problem is; how do you make money on this?" — Charles Clough, chief investment strategist for Merrill Lynch.

"The West stands to gain new markets as well as a labor supply that is well trained and socially stable." — *Business Week*, Nov. 27, 1989.

"Everyone is talking about the business opportunities in Southeastern Asia. What luck to have the same opportunities suddenly open on our doorstep." — Jean Louis Bettag, Chair of French glassmaker Saint-Gobain, which is considering opening a plant in East Germany, *Business Week*, Nov. 27, 1989.

"...the director of the (Polish) Central Committee Secretariat, when asked, 'What is to be done with communist capitalists?' replied, 'What's the problem? They're normal people, too.'" — Jacek Taskowski in *Uncaptive Minds*, Nov./Dec. '89.

"According to Elemer Hankiss, a long-standing critic of Stalinism who was imprisoned for his participation in the 1956 Revolution, another factor accelerating the party's acceptance of a program for democratization is that 'they now have a fairly good chance of transferring their power into a new and more efficient socioeconomic system.' He sees the

ing the state bureaucracy for managerial positions in the private sector. Western-style democracy, Hankiss argues, is a tool in the ruling class strategy of holding onto power in the face of a crisis: 'They may use it to convert their illegitimate bureaucratic power into legitimate power and thus preserve their hegemony....'" — Paul Hockenos, *The Guardian*.

(Who will own industry in Poland?) "Well, no one else than some son of a minister, wife of a colonel, owner of a foreign company doing business in Poland, a profiteer or, say, someone who already owns the stocks of Krupp.

"The regime that can make this happen will be headed by someone like that scum-face of a general, Pinochet...." — *Spartacus* (Polish anarcho-syndicalist bulletin), Aug. 28, '88.

Command economies certainly bring their own ruin. Bolshevik despotisms are stagnant and catatonic, cut off from world discourse and interaction. The sluggish bureaucratic catacombs on which these states are constructed hamper their ability to compete against the West. Hence, (if you're in the competition game) free yourselves up — or smother.

But now the Western factor is taking prominence. The West played it brilliantly: strangle the East bloc with isolation, embargoes, debt, and outlaw sales of high-tech equipment. Then tell the East: "Oh you're in bad shape now, let us help. The U.S., Western Europe, Japan, and the International Monetary Fund will loan you money, relax some trade restrictions, etc., but you have to do a few things: privatize the economy (aid is restricted to privatization efforts), allow Western capital free play in your

the enforced work/austerity offensive. Labor there is saying "Why should we work *more* for profits for *you* while we get *less*?" They are told that austerity/unemployment/soup lines are only a "temporary phenomenon" while their economies adjust to "normal market conditions." But the "normal" market offered them by Western capitalism has always included austerity, economic hardship, dislocation and collapse, ethnic/racial hatreds fueled by competition for jobs and services, and war on the Third World, not to mention everyday exploitation and unending class strife.

The barbed wire and concrete borders are now being replaced by a border less tangible: that of money/commodity relations and rule. Those with the dollars are in the game and roam freely — those without, can't. And this game, like the old one, has only enough room for a few players. In the East the game has been about the accumulation of power and privilege, in the West, the accumulation of privilege and wealth, but in the end the result is the same: class-ridden society, ecocidal "growth," alienation, conformism, boredom, loneliness, and work, work, work....

The paradox is that as the world has gotten very interesting recently, it's also simultaneously becoming increasingly monotone and banal. Pepsi power, etc.

This, then, is prime territory for adventurers seeking seams in this seemingly seamless whole. It's been remarked that with Stalinism collapsing, we are now "at the end of history." Rather, perhaps, we are only at its beginning. ★

pressure resulted in the Torrijos-Carter treaty of 1977, which stipulated that the canal would pass into the hands of the Panamanian government in the year 2000, and that a Panamanian would be named the administrator of the canal by January 1, 1990.

Torrijos' success drove the Yankees to carrying out a Machiavellian to be pursuing through the invasion of Panama are therefore nothing but excuses to justify imperialist domination. Smugglers and drug-traffickers still remain in power in Panama. Out of 1,069 officials loyal to Noriega, more than 980 remain at their posts (less than 10% have been removed). The present commander-in-chief of the recently-baptized Public Force being extradicted. Tomorrow, it'll be "terrorists." Thus, the Empire, with its long claws, will get rid of anyone who gets in its way.

It is worth remembering the case of Juan Ramón Matta, a citizen of Honduras, who lived in Tegucigalpa, the capital of that country. Accused by the U.S. government of being a drug magnate, he was arrested in his the same "war on drugs" as a pretext.

Today, the U.S. government has fulfilled the Carter-Torrijos treaty and designated a person of Panamanian origin as the administrator of the canal. Now it is manufacturing a puppet government for the moment when the canal changes hands in the year 2000. ★

WHOOPIE!

EAST BLOC EXPLODES!

BY BOB MCGLYNN

OH BOY, WHAT FUN! THERE'S nothing like a reverse domino theory to warm the hearts of those that hate governments. Watching one Stalinoid dictatorship after another crumble with embarrassing speed is even more fun than drinking beer! (Well almost.)

Many are now wondering about the status of "neither East nor West" and "détente from below"-type activity; that is, the solidarity and networking among various oppositions (for instance the anti-nuclear movement) in East and West.

Many wonder if this movement is over. Not at all. In fact, it's needed now more than ever, given that Western capitalism is poised to eat the East alive, through debt and capital penetration. That gives East, West, Third World, and Fourth World ("Indians," nomads, tribal peoples, land-based peoples) a common enemy. No longer do we just have moral solidarity with each other's struggles, we have a common physical target in the form of Western financial/industrial circles everywhere, in collusion with local Communist Party elites and sectors of the opposition elite (e.g. Walesa and his boys). The economic integration of the world is such that transnationalism is needed

some East bloc countries. You'd never know this from the capitalist or "left" media). And now that things in the East have loosened up, making communications easier (NYC–Neither East Nor West, for instance, is suddenly getting much more mail from the East), it's time to really get moving on networking oppositions. In many ways, we're only just beginning. For instance, the sporadic contacts between anarchists in both blocs can now be cemented. In April an Italian group is sponsoring a large gathering of East and West anarchists — the first time ever. In a sense, we are at point zero. Now we can really move.

Here's a menu of a few juicy quotes to give you a taste of the economics that are going down now:

"We were all joyous at the scenes of people climbing on the (Berlin) wall, but the problem is; how do you make money on this?" — Charles Clough, chief investment strategist for Merrill Lynch.

"The West stands to gain new markets as well as a labor supply that is well trained and socially stable." — *Business Week*, Nov. 27, 1989.

"Everyone is talking about the business opportunities in Southeastern Asia. What luck to have the same opportunities suddenly open on our doorstep." — Jean Louis Bettag, Chair of French glassmaker Saint-Gobain, which is considering opening a plant in East Germany, *Business*

reforms as 'instruments used by the ruling elite to further this conversion power.' And Hankiss predicts the rise of a powerful 'grande bourgeoisie,' a monolithic alliance of the newly-legitimized government and the burgeoning managerial and entrepreneurial class.

"Since the average salary of company managers increased by 100% in 1988 many opportunistic party apparatchiks have already begun leaving the state bureaucracy for managerial positions in the private sector. Western-style democracy, Hankiss argues, is a tool in the ruling class strategy of holding onto power in the face of a crisis: 'They may use it to convert their illegitimate bureaucratic power into legitimate power and thus preserve their hegemony. . . .'" — Paul Hockenos, *The Guardian*.

(Who will own industry in Poland?) "Well, no one else than some son of a minister, wife of a colonel, owner of a foreign company doing business in Poland, a profiteer or, say, someone who already owns the stocks of Krupp.

"The regime that can make this happen will be headed by someone like that scum-face of a general, Pinochet. . . ." — *Spartacus* (Polish anarcho-syndicalist bulletin), Aug. 28, '88.

Command economies certainly bring their own ruin. Bolshevik despotisms are stagnant and catatonic, cut off from world discourse and interaction. The sluggish bureaucratic catacombs on which these states are

country, and enforce austerity." Those specifics, that *plan* (capitalists plan right along with Communists), is exactly how it's going down.

As noted above, the Stalinist bureaucracies are hardly being dragged kicking and screaming into this affair — they're getting their cut.

Against this plan is the working class, who've launched major strikes in Poland, Yugoslavia, the USSR, Hungary and Mozambique against the enforced work/austerity offensive. Labor there is saying "Why should we work *more* for profits for *you* while we get *less*?" They are told that austerity/unemployment/soup lines are only a "temporary phenomenon" while their economies adjust to "normal market conditions." But the "normal" market offered them by Western capitalism has always included austerity, economic hardship, dislocation and collapse, ethnic/racial hatreds fueled by competition for jobs and services, and war on the Third World, not to mention everyday exploitation and unending class strife.

The barbed wire and concrete borders are now being replaced by a border less tangible: that of money/commodity relations and rule. Those with the dollars are in the game and roam freely — those without, can't. And this game, like the old one, has only enough room for a few players. In the East the game has been about the accumulation of power and privilege, in the West, the accumulation

Panama

(Continued from page 6)

extreme opportunism and an infinite desire for wealth and power. Shielded by his social-democratic/militarist/nationalist propaganda Torrijos murdered hundreds of guerrillas (students and peasants), and eliminated all focal points of "subversive" insurrection. He also managed to coexist with Yankee intervention, despite his demands that the canal be turned over to Panama. Meanwhile he accelerated the growth of the State bureaucracy, greatly increased the power of the State and named old leaders of the Communist Party to high government posts.

Threatening to change masters and take over the strategic canal, Torrijos sought support from Castro, finding in the Caribbean Ceausescu and his militarist regime the element of intimidation necessary to wring concessions from the Yankees. This pressure resulted in the Torrijos-Carter treaty of 1977, which stipulated that the canal would pass into the hands of the Panamanian government in the year 2000, and that a Panamanian would be named the administrator of the canal by January 1, 1990.

Torrijos' success drove the Yankees to carrying out a Machiavellian plot to eliminate him. And the obscure second "strong man" of Panama, Manuel Antonio Noriega, who was then the chief of State Security and worked for the "company," joined this scheme.

The "mysterious" catastrophe that caused the death of Torrijos and his companions was obviously not an accident. Noriega and the CIA were the direct beneficiaries of the event. Starting at that moment Noriega held the reins of Panama, although he sometimes hid behind puppets and counted on the aid and support of the CIA, the White House and the State Department. In other words, this unscrupulous militarist, drug-trafficker and everything-else-they-say-he-is, was always backed by U.S. imperialism.

Behind the 'War on Drugs' Yankee Interventionism

The objectives that the U.S. claimed to be pursuing through the invasion of Panama are therefore nothing but excuses to justify imperialist domination. Smugglers and drug-traffickers still remain in power in Panama. Out of 1,069 officials loyal to Noriega, more than 980 remain at their posts (less than 10% have been removed). The present commander-in-chief of the recently-baptized Public Force (the old Defense Forces, but with 2,000 fewer soldiers), Eduardo Herrera, is an outstanding example. Currently an agent of the CIA and the Mossad, Herrera has a long history of complicity from the days when he was one of Torrijos' escorts. He later became an aide to Noriega, who appointed him the Panamanian ambassador to Israel, where he coordinated the purchase of arms destined for the black market in Central and South America with drug dollars. Fired for insubordination by Noriega, he went to Miami where, working for the CIA, he immediately began receiving a salary of $10,000 per month, plus $20,000 for expenses, from frozen Panamanian funds. With this money, he bought a luxurious residence, valued at $135,000, in cold cash.

With the "war on drugs" as a pretext, extradition pacts have been signed. Today, drug traffickers are being extradicted. Tomorrow, it'll be "terrorists." Thus, the Empire, with its long claws, will get rid of anyone who gets in its way.

It is worth remembering the case of Juan Ramón Matta, a citizen of Honduras, who lived in Tegucigalpa, the capital of that country. Accused by the U.S. government of being a drug magnate, he was arrested in his home on April 5, 1988, by agents of the DEA, taken to the Yankee embassy, then transported (via stops in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Miami and New York), to Marion Penitentiary, where he was incarcerated. We aren't going to discuss whether Juan Ramón Matta is guilty of the charges the U.S. has brought against him. But note the impunity with which the Yankee government kidnaps a citizen of another country and throws him into a maximum security prison in the U.S., all under the guise of waging a so-called "war on drugs."

We should also not forget the imminent Yankee intervention in Peru, where a U.S. military base was recently constructed and troops, armed with modern weapons, are carrying out "anti-drug" operations. Nor should we ignore the White House's threats to send a U.S. war fleet, including the aircraft carrier *J.F. Kennedy*, to the coast of Colombia, using the same "war on drugs" as a pretext.

Today, the U.S. government has fulfilled the Carter-Torrijos treaty and designated a person of Panamanian origin as the administrator of the canal. Now it is manufacturing a puppet government for the moment when the canal changes hands in the year 2000. ★

WHOOPIE!

EAST BLOC EXPLODES!

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ON September 24, 1989 the U.S. Peace Test and the Western Shoshone Indians held large scale and coordinated protests with the Soviet Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement demanding an end to nuclear weapons testing. The Peace Test campaign in West Germany and Poland's Freedom and Peace movement held solidarity protests.

Further joint protests are planned for March 29–April 2.

Movements around the world are asked to participate by protesting in their own regions.

A speaking tour including Kairat Nmarov of the Nevada Semipalatinsk Movement, Pauline Esteves of the Western Shoshone, and members of the Nevada Desert Experience and the Bay Area Peace Test will visit many western U.S. cities in March.

Contact the Bay Area Peace Test for their intinerary, 1998 25th Street, San Francisco, CA 94107, USA; Tel: (415)641-4095
or
Nevada Semipalatinsk Movement, Union of Writers of Kazakstan Alma Ata, Kommunistichesky Prospect 105, Kazakstan, USSR.

Yow! Incredible!

For $5 you can get a thick packet of "neither East nor West"-type info including past ON GOGOL BOULEVARDS, etc. Send checks to Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215

YES! GET IN ON THE FUN! OGB needs translators — especially of Central European languages. Please write us if you can help.

• Anarchists involved in the counter-culture, like the Orange Alternative in Wroclaw and numerous others.

At first M.A. was more a communication structure — the "positive exchanges network" — than a real organization. From the score of people we were in August at the foundation, we were already more than a hundred at the first M.A. meeting in October 1988. Today, one-and-a-half years later, M.A. Federation is present in about 50 towns in Poland, including over 20 more important groups which have published open contact addresses.

In July 1989, has been held another "Hyde Park" festival, which was the occasion for the following M.A. national meeting. Some very important decisions were taken there: creation of an internal bulletin, formation of a finance commission, formation of an information bureau working in a local in Warszawa, and the project of a countrywide anarchist newspaper. We also fixed some basic principles for the organization, as the role of the congresses and the notion of groups. Thus, we decided to change the name and to create the "Anarchist Federation" (FA) in place of M.A. as a positive exchange network.

On top of publishing and propaganda activity, the local groups of Federation have done various actions since the creation of the organization. Here are some of the most important of them:

• Demonstrations for the liberation of several Czechoslovak political prisoners, like Petr Pospichal and Petr Cibulka.

• In October 1988, common ac-

the anarchist movement in Poland and to help the anarchist groups in the other Eastern countries we must call for the financial and material support of the international movement. In fact, because of the extremely dif-

with postage for Europe to:

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Or contact FA directly:
Marek Kurzyniec, ul. Smolensk 16/8 PL-31112, Krakow, Poland.

Czechoslovak Anarchists Organize

CESKOSLOVENSKE ANARCHISTICKE SDRUZENI

WE, ANARCHISTS LIVING IN Czechoslovakia, have decided this 10th of October, 1989, to make public the CAS (Ceskoslovenske Anarchisticke Sdruzeni — Czechoslovak Anarchist Union) which will make a free reference to the activity of the CAF (Ceska Anarchistycka Federace — Czech Anarchist Federation), continued from 65 years ago.

The CAS is the free and open union of those who have chosen the anarchist movement. It aims to integrate all the anarchists you can get in touch with among all the professions and social levels.

The CAS has to insist on the efficiency of the movement and to provide it a more normal development, so that its influence on our milieu is clearer than before.

The CAS is a union of people for whom the new and free society, working on the base of free association (the anarchist society) is the ultimate goal, even though this may seem unrealistic.

Thus the CAS recognizes as its most important goals:

1) To try to organize free groups, to make possible contacts and collaboration between individuals and to support individual intiative and solidarity as the two most important elements of every sane social life.

2) To support the information and edition activity, as well as, for the support of our movement, to gather anarchist literature, theoretical and for propaganda.

3) To support every antimilitarist or anti-statist movement.

4) As a branch of the international movement, to link contacts between anarchists from over the borders.

5) To support every information and formation activity.

6) To take a clear position against terrorism.

Nevertheless these goals are far from being the only ones, for in any case they cannot limit individual initiative.

The CAS appeals to all groups and associations to pay more attention to the intelligence, to the anarchist consciousness and to the seriousness of their activists, rather than to their number.

We retain the right to refuse entry to our union to anybody who wouldn't enjoy the trust of our activists.

The CAS can be contacted at the following address in Czechoslovakia or at its PO Box in France.
Do not write CAS on the envelopes.
Jiri Benes, Vlkova 7, 13000 Praha 3, Czechoslovakia
or, L. Mayard
BP 11, 44401 Reze, France

these efforts.

This regular *OGB* column in *Love and Rage* will serve the same function.

We encourage all those involved in "neither East nor West" type activities to be regular contributors to this section. Please address letters, reports, documents, debate, and so on directly to *OGB*.

This is not a column for anarchists only. We're interested in anything promoting the general good, such as worker's, women's and gay rights, environmental and anti-miltarist issues, and anything pursuing paths other than the capitalist or state bureaucratic models.

By the way, Gogol Boulevard is a noted hang-out for Moscow's counter-culture — see you there!

— Bob McGlynn

PEACE TEST EAST & WEST

On September 24, 1989 the U.S. Peace Test and the Western Shoshone Indians held large scale and coordinated protests with the Soviet Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement demanding an end to nuclear weapons testing. The Peace Test campaign in West Germany and Poland's Freedom and Peace movement held solidarity protests.

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1988, during the "Hyde Park" alternative festival in Bialogòra, near Gdańsk.

Back then M.A. was aimed — according to the text of the appeal towards its constitution — to "inform, initiate, and integrate" the various anarchist or libertarian individuals, initiatives, groups and organizations already active, including:

- The Movement for an Alternative Society (Ruch Spoleczeństwa Alternatywnego — RSA), an anarchist organization created in 1983 and '84 in Gdańsk, then in Szczecin and Poznań, and lastly in Warszawa and Bialystok. Still active, RSA publishes *Homek* in Gdańsk and *Rewolta* in Warszawa.
- The libertarians active in the ecologist, pacifist, and anti-militarist movement Freedom and Peace (Ruch Wolność i Pokòj — WiP), especially numerous in the Gdańsk, Poznań, Wroclaw, and Krakòw WiP groups.
- Anarchists involved in the counter-culture, like the Orange Alternative in Wroclaw and numerous others.

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against the building of nuclear power plants in Klempicz and Zarnowiec. Last summer the Zarnowiec project was halted.

- In July in Lagnica a Soviet military base was blockaded by some one hundred anarchists, mainly from Silesian groups.
- Simultaneous demonstrations in August with the Hungarian anarchist group Autonómiá in Gdańsk and Budapest against the Berlin Wall and other borders.

We have developed international relations with anarchists from the West and also the East: Autonómiá in Hungary, the Czechoslovakian Anarchist Union (CAS), various anarchist groups in East Germany, the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation (KAS) and the Free Interprofessional Union of Working People in the USSR (SMOT). We are putting much effort into increasing the integration of the East European anarchist movement.

In order to continue developing the anarchist movement in Poland and to help the anarchist groups in the other Eastern countries we must call for the financial and material support of the international movement. In fact, because of the extremely dif-

our most important needs:

- financing the everyday activity of the Federation: communication, travel, publishing, demonstrations, propaganda, etc.
- providing the movement with its own printing machines, so we could print for ourselves, cheaper and freely, our books and booklets, local groups' magazines, leaflets, documents, and maybe a country-wide anarchist newspaper.

We are mainly in need of small A4 offset machines with the necessary supplies, but we could also use xerox, stencil printers, word processors, computers, typewriters, telefax, etc. We'll have to organize the transport, but today it's no longer a problem bringing printing machines over the Polish border.

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On Gogol Boulevard

Contact On Gogol Boulevard at
151 First Ave., # 62
New York, NY 10003 USA
Tel: (718) 499-7720

On Gogol Boulevard (*OGB*) is the sporadically published bulletin of New York City Neither East Nor West, networking Eastern and Western alternative oppositionists and printing news and documents available in neither the corporate nor "left" media. We are now attempting to bring Third World activists into these efforts.

This regular *OGB* column in *Love and Rage* will serve the same function.

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PEACE TEST EAST & WEST

On September 24, 1989 the U.S.

Polish Anarchists Kick Ass Right and Left

from Federacja Miedzymiastòwki Anarchistycznej

Anarchism in its current phase in Poland has several years of history, but it has been providing itself with an organized structure at the national level for only one year and a half. The Anarchist Intercity (Miedzymiastòwka Anarchistyczna — M.A.) was formed in August, 1988, during the "Hyde Park" alternative festival in Bialogòra, near Gdańsk.

Back then M.A. was aimed — according to the text of the appeal towards its constitution — to "inform, initiate, and integrate" the various anarchist or libertarian individuals, initiatives, groups and organizations already active, including:

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• Anarchists involved in the countions with anarchists in the USA against Reagan's intervention in El Salvador.

• A demonstration in Gdańsk of over 3,000 people in March, 1989, organized by RSA/M.A. on the occasion of the anniversary of the Kronstadt uprising in 1921, under the slogan "What Kronstadt had begun, Gdańsk shall achieve."

• In April and May, weekly demonstrations in Poznań and Gdańsk against the building of nuclear power plants in Klempicz and Zarnowiec. Last summer the Zarnowiec project was halted.

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In order to continue developing

ficult economic situation in Poland we cannot make the organization work and develop without this solidarity — though we would like so much to achieve financial self-sufficiency. But how could we? A Polish worker earns around 200,000 zlotys a month — that's less than 40 U.S. dollars! And a kilogram of meat can cost up to 40,000 zlotys.

Would you like to help us? Here are our most important needs:

• financing the everyday activity of the Federation: communication, travel, publishing, demonstrations, propaganda, etc.

• providing the movement with its own printing machines, so we could print for ourselves, cheaper and freely, our books and booklets, local groups' magazines, leaflets, documents, and maybe a country-wide anarchist newspaper.

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consistently fighting is for choice and abortion. There are two already existing groups in this area which many women in our group work with: Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue (BACAOR), and the campus group: Retain Our Reproductive Rights (RORR).

In conjunction with these groups, some of us organized a rally to commemorate the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Instead of doing the expected boring rally in which distinguished speakers talk about how kind the Supreme Court has been to us, we organized a colorful event, replete with imagery of women's vaginas and reproductive organs.

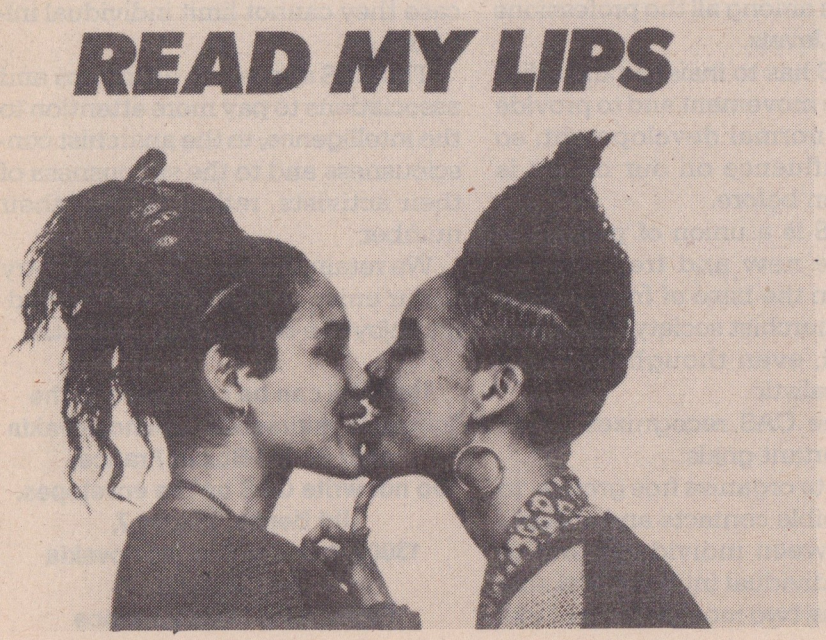
continue meeting regularly to explore issues in a safe, non-judgmental environment. We are learning that although we need to keep up an action-oriented approach to our politics, we also need to talk things out with like-minded people.

This is not to say that our group is entirely homogeneous. In fact, the more we meet, the more our differences seem to come out: culturally, politically, sexually, even religiously. As one woman in the group remarked: "The more we work together away from the men, the more our personalities come through. We're really so different from one another." ★

PEOPLE OF COLOR ORGANIZE AGAINST AIDS

BY DARRELL GORDON

ACT NOW (AIDS COALITION TO Network, Organize and Win), the national umbrella of ACT-UP groups, is sponsoring a national AIDS action and health care conference in Chicago on April 20–23.



The Out-of-New-Town Caucus of ACT-UP Chicago is having a conference on April 20 from 9:00 to 9:00 to address AIDS and other health care issues for people of color and poor working people, to caucus and establish affinity groups for the demonstration, and as a resource center for people of color.

ACT NOW is hosting its conference, primarily for members of ACT NOW, on Saturday from 10–3 p.m. and Sunday from 10–2 p.m. at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

There will be a 24-hour vigil at Cook County Hospital from Saturday at 3 p.m. to Sunday at 3 p.m. Cook County Hospital is public institution for poor people in Chicago. It has an AIDS ward with an inadequate 16 beds, while seeing a hundred patients a week with various forms of HIV disease. The hospital has no facilities for HIV-positive women, nor does it perform abortions for poor women.

Monday, April 23, there will be a major demonstration against the Cook County Board, which runs Cook County Hospital, and Prudential Insurance Company. Prudential has refused to pay for pentamidine and other drugs needed by PWAs, and turns down applicants for insurance because of their addresses.

ACT-UP Chicago encourages people to come and form contingents at this action. ★

For further information:
ACT-UP Chicago, 3225 N. Sheffield, Chicago IL. 60657, Tel.:(312) 509-6802.
VIDA-SIDA, 2048 W. Division, Chicago, IL 60622 Tel.: (312) 278-6708.
People of Color Committee, Darrell Tel.: (312) 297-0158

— groups in which women learn the basics of self-cervical exams, do pelvics on each other, and learn how to do menstrual extraction, a process of removing (or inducing) menstruation.

Women have taken center stage of

into our bodies. We are now able to repulse the state from our uteri because we are gaining the knowledge that enables us to control our own bodies.

weeks discussing and reading about fat liberation, anorexia, and the portrayal of women by the mass media, we decided to do a "positive body image" rally on the UC Berkeley campus.

The high point of this demo was when women picked up sledgehammers and began smashing cans of "Slim Fast" diet powder, diet Coke, and bathroom scales. The rally was a rebellion against the misogynist diet industry, which makes millions of dollars a year off of women's self-hatred. It was also a celebration of women's strength, with women literally picking up tools and destroying objects which have come to symbolize their oppression.

One area in which we have been consistently fighting is for choice and abortion. There are two already existing groups in this area which many women in our group work with: Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue (BACAOR), and the campus group: Retain Our Reproductive Rights (RORR).

In conjunction with these groups, some of us organized a rally to commemorate the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Instead of doing the expected boring rally in which distinguished speakers talk about how kind the Supreme Court has been to us, we organized a colorful event, replete with imagery of women's vaginas and reproductive organs.

prompted all of the scheduled speakers to talk about the ways in which the State is trying to silence women who are fighting for reproductive freedom and women's liberation.

The scale smashing and other events we have worked on have called attention to our group. We are having to face the fact that people are hearing about us, and they want to get involved. We have been — very cautiously and slowly — expanding and changing our group.

We are now talking about starting some sort of women's center, and we realize that we need to start networking much more formally with existing women's groups, especially groups of women of color.

At the same time, we are trying to continue meeting regularly to explore issues in a safe, non-judgmental environment. We are learning that although we need to keep up an action-oriented approach to our politics, we also need to talk things out with like-minded people.

This is not to say that our group is entirely homogeneous. In fact, the more we meet, the more our differences seem to come out: culturally, politically, sexually, even religiously. As one woman in the group remarked: "The more we work together away from the men, the more our personalities come through. We're really so different from one another." ★

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ACT NOW (AIDS COALITION TO Network, Organize and Win), the national umbrella of ACT-UP groups, is sponsoring a national AIDS action and health care conference in Chicago on April 20–23.

The Out-of-New-Town Caucus of ACT-UP Chicago is having a conference on April 20 from 9:00 to 9:00 to address AIDS and other health care issues for people of color and poor working people, to caucus and establish affinity groups for the demon-

HIV disease. The hospital has no facilities for HIV-positive women, nor does it perform abortions for poor women.

Monday, April 23, there will be a major demonstration against the Cook County Board, which runs Cook County Hospital, and Pruden-

READ MY LIPS

OMEN'S COMMUNITY GETS ROLLING

speculums, and demanding much more than our rights

In attempting to confront sexism and the overall male domination that has characterized the anarchist movement, we began to realize that the East Bay community is sadly lacking in women's input and energy. Until recently, there simply had not been an explicitly women-oriented radical activist community in Berkeley.

The other thing that brought women together was that several women who have been doing self-help and menstrual extraction came to the gathering and shared their skills and experiences. This was very exciting to many of us, because we have been looking for home health care and abortion techniques.

Since the gathering, more than 50 women in the Bay area have gotten involved in starting self-help groups — groups in which women learn the basics of self-cervical exams, do pelvics on each other, and learn how to do menstrual extraction, a process of removing (or inducing) menstruation.

Being in a self-help group has had a very strong effect on my relationship to my own body, as well as my understanding of women's bodies in general. Women who go through this process together develop a very strong bond. We are truly taking control of our own bodies: learning our cycles of change, learning what a uterus feels like inside another woman, and becoming intimately familiar with the look and feel of the inside of a woman's vagina.

This has, in very concrete ways, made our struggle against the anti-abortion group Operation "Rescue" and the "Supreme" Court stronger and more effective. We have learned that if the time comes, we can and will do home abortions. We are becoming physically aware of the invasion the government is conducting into our bodies. We are now able to repulse the state from our uteri because we are gaining the knowledge that enables us to control our own bodies.

Women have taken center stage of visible political action in this area. Since the gathering, we have been having biweekly discussion meetings, and actions and affinity groups have grown out of this main group.

Our demonstrations have a different feel to them than the ones we have done in the past with men. For one thing, we have chosen issues which directly affect us as women, and in which we have a personal stake. And for another, we take long periods of time to discuss the given issue in depth. These discussions are often emotionally-charged, because our personal lives have become so involved in what we are discussing.

". . . if the time comes, we can and will do safe home abortions."

This was especially true of the first action that the women's group organized. After spending several weeks discussing and reading about fat liberation, anorexia, and the portrayal of women by the mass media, we decided to do a "positive body image" rally on the UC Berkeley campus.

The high point of this demo was when women picked up sledgehammers and began smashing cans of "Slim Fast" diet powder, diet Coke, and bathroom scales. The rally was a rebellion against the misogynist diet industry, which makes millions of dollars a year off of women's self-hatred. It was also a celebration of women's strength, with women literally picking up tools and destroying objects which have come to symbolize their oppression.

One area in which we have been consistently fighting is for choice

Lincy Comy, who spoke to us at the obnoxious women's gathering (the all-women's part of the Anarchist Gathering) came to speak about women taking control of our bodies. We also had a speak-out about self-help and abuse by the male medical establishment, and did some chanting and theatre to keep the energy up. The theme of the rally was: "*Roe* is not enough — We will control our destinies."

The University tried to derail the rally by arresting three of the key organizers the night before for putting up posters. They were held in jail until after the rally was completely over, and were told by the police that they would not be allowed out for the event. The women were charged with felony conspiracy and their bail was set for $6,000 each.

Despite this sabotage, the rally went on as planned, and this prompted all of the scheduled speakers to talk about the ways in which the State is trying to silence women who are fighting for reproductive freedom and women's liberation.

The scale smashing and other events we have worked on have called attention to our group. We are having to face the fact that people are hearing about us, and they want to get involved. We have been — very cautiously and slowly — expanding and changing our group.

We are now talking about starting some sort of women's center, and we realize that we need to start networking much more formally with existing women's groups, especially groups of women of color.

At the same time, we are trying to continue meeting regularly to ex-

pressed/target groups must and will define their own liberation and oppressor/non-target groups in solidarity with them cannot set the agenda for the necessary changes. Men are complicit if we are silent when men around us verbally harrass women on the street or when they give voice to their anger against women. It is not easy, nor is it even clear as to how to effectively challenge the pervasive misogyny of this culture. Sexist and racist attitudes mean that white working class men identify more strongly with their white male overlords than with the women or people of color around them. Political men must take up the challenge of sexism and violence against women, otherwise social change will be just a changing of the guard rather than a fundamental altering of this society.

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In conjunction with these groups, some of us organized a rally to commemorate the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. Instead of doing the expected boring rally in which distinguished speakers talk about how kind the Supreme Court has been to us, we organized a colorful event, replete with imagery of women's vaginas and reproductive organs.

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ACT NOW is hosting its conference, primarily for members of ACT NOW, on Saturday from 10–3 p.m. and Sunday from 10–2 p.m. at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

There will be a 24-hour vigil at Cook County Hospital from Saturday at 3 p.m. to Sunday at 3 p.m. Cook County Hospital is public institution for poor people in Chicago. It has an AIDS ward with an inadequate 16 beds, while seeing a hundred patients a week with various forms of

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Since the gathering, more than 50 women in the Bay area have gotten involved in starting self-help groups — groups in which women learn the basics of self-cervical exams, do pelvics on each other, and learn how to do menstrual extraction, a process of removing (or inducing) menstruation.

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EAST BAY WOMEN'S COMMUNITY GETS ROLLING

Smashing scales, wielding speculums, and demanding much more than our rights

BY SUNSHINE SMITH

ALTHOUGH BERKELEY MAY BE one of the most intense centers of radical political action in this country, it is also a place where established informal networks of activists have a stronghold. There has been an unacknowledged (and therefore insidiously powerful) patriarchy in operation in our community at least since the anti-apartheid movement in the mid-'80s.

I have lived here for over a year, and it was not until after the Anarchist Gathering last summer that women began to organize on their own in a truly cohesive way.

The Anarchist Gathering in San Francisco last summer brought things to a head for many of us. There was a lot of overt sexism and dyke-bashing going on, and women responded by meeting in groups separate from the men. In addition, small groups of men began meeting to deal with the sexism and homophobia at the gathering.

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unknown. But even this should not obscure the reality that a woman is much more likely to be attacked or killed in her home, by her partner or some other man that she knows than she is on the streets.

Ironically, there was a strong backlash against what was considered the exploitation of the tragedy by feminists for their own political ends. It is ironic, in the hypothetical sense of the word, because Lepine himself was clear that he was targeting feminists for whom he blamed his failures in life and love. The note found

man can not be separated from the social dynamics of rape in general. Rape is widely seen not as an aberration but as a reflection of a basic contradiction in this society. The intensity of the backlash then, was a reaction to this strength of feminism in Canadian society.

The hatred of women is so pervasive that it is barely recognized. As a man, one has only to listen to the comments of other men around us to understand that women are held in contempt and scorn; that the marginal gains that women have been able

but that does not change the nature of this act. It is violent for being forced or coerced. It makes no difference if the woman is the rapist's wife, or girlfriend, or date or friend, or whatever. No does mean no.

One of the criticisms of the feminist perspective was that it was distinguishing between violence against women and violence against men, and were supposedly being sexist for suggesting that women as victims were more significant than men as victims. It is true that many men suffer from violence as well. But what is also true is that it is generally men who commit violence against both men and women. The same is true for the violence and sexual abuse directed against children. To speak of crimes committed against men should not diminish the magnitude of crimes committed against women, but should further convince men that the ease with which we resort to violence must be dealt with. Lepine as a child himself was a victim of his father's beatings. This illustrates how the violence of one generation is perpetuated by another. And it must be stopped.

The Montreal killings made it clear to many men who support social and political change that men must hold men accountable for their violence. It is not just a women's issue, nor is it just a matter of acts of overt violence. Individual men may not slap their lovers around, but when they discount or belittle women, when they refuse to listen to them or take them seriously, when they feel threatened by their attempts to attain personal and collective strength, then they're incorporating some of the most destructive elements within this society into our own movements. The oppressed/target groups must and will define their own liberation and oppressor/non-target groups in solidarity with them cannot set the agenda for the necessary changes. Men are complicit if we are silent when men around us verbally harrass women on the street or when they give voice to their anger against women. It is not easy, nor is it even clear as to how to effectively challenge the pervasive misogyny of this culture. Sexist and racist attitudes mean that white working class men identify more strongly with their white male overlords than with the women or people of color around them. Political men must take up the challenge of sexism and violence against women, otherwise social change will be just a changing of the guard rather than a fundamental altering of this society.

Twin Cities Wimmin Fight Sexual Violence

BY GRETA BAUER & KATE CERRIDWEN

ON February 7, 12 wimmin, after forcing their way into President Nils Hasselmo's office, read a list of demands in response to sexual violence, and the dismantling of the Sexual Violence Program on the University of Minnesota campus. Later, they resisted police attempts to lock them inside. Three participants sought medical attentions for injuries inflicted by the police, and seven people were arrested. Two days later, dozens of youth disrupted the Board of Regents' meeting in a spirited protest. Six people were arrested. In a precarious victory, some semblance of the Sexual Violence Program was restored two weeks later, with the return of peer counseling, and the sexual violence hotline, pending review by a Task Force.★

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The massacre shocked a country that prides itself on being less violent, less obsessed with guns than the U.S. But the response of many, both men and women, was to realize that more than just being the act of a "madman," the slaughter was both symptom and symptomatic of the routine violence that women are subjected to every day. A woman is raped every 17 minutes. One woman in eight is assaulted by her mate every year. One woman in four is sexually assaulted at some point in her life. It was suggested that this was the first time that women had been slaughtered simply for being women. In fact, women are murdered for being women all the time. But seldom is it done in such a spectacular and open way. Prostitutes are a favorite target for men who express their hatred for women in a murderous way. Serial killings of street women in Canada, while not as common as in the U.S., are certainly not unknown. But even this should not obscure the reality that a woman is much more likely to be attacked or killed in her home, by her partner or some other man that she knows than she is on the streets.

Ironically, there was a strong backlash against what was considered the exploitation of the tragedy by feminists for their own political ends. It is ironic, in the hypothetical sense of the word, because Lepine himself was clear that he was targeting feminists for whom he blamed his failures in life and love. The note found

to the day-to-day violence inflicted on women. A male commentator on radio was called a "wimp" because he supported the feminist position on the slaughter, as though "real men" didn't support womens' struggles. "Copycat" incidents occured — cruel "jokes" involving toy guns pointed at women in at least two incidents.

But the rabid anti-feminist backlash has to be put into the context that both men and women did draw out the political and social implications of this vicious attack. In surveys, 40% of the respondents agreed with the feminist position. Much of the commentary in the mainstream media was surprisingly good. Two of the three daily papers in Toronto, for instance, editorially supported the link between the killings and the routine misogyny (woman-hating) that is the lot of women in Canada. In Canada there is a widespread understanding that the insane act of one man can not be separated from the social dynamics of rape in general. Rape is widely seen not as an aberration but as a reflection of a basic contradiction in this society. The intensity of the backlash then, was a reaction to this strength of feminism in Canadian society.

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it" as part of dating — had been met by a counter campaign. Signs were put up in a male residence saying "No means more beer" and "No means tie me up." Even after the Montreal massacre, the male students responsible for this nasty campaign were oblivious to the connection between their jovial attitudes towards rape and the systematic killing of the women.

Rape, however, seems to be poorly understood by men. A recent survey in the U.S. found that 15% of men admitted that they would rape a woman if they thought they could get away with it. But 50% of men said they would force sex on a woman if they thought they could get away with it. As staggering as these percentages are, the differences between the two totals raise disturbing questions as to what line 35% of men would draw between rape and forced sex. Rape is forced sex. The degree of violence that accompanies it varies, but that does not change the nature of this act. It is violent for being forced or coerced. It makes no difference if the woman is the rapist's wife, or girlfriend, or date or friend, or whatever. No does mean no.

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The Montreal Massacre: The Evil That Men Do

FROM BULLDOZER

THE KILLING OF 14 WOMEN and the wounding of nine other women and four men in one of the worst mass killings in recent Canadian history precipitated a major national debate on the anti-woman attitudes in Canadian society. Marc Lepine, 25 years old, walked into an engineering classroom at a Montreal university on December 6, 1989, separated the women from the men and opened fire on the women with a semi-automatic .22 caliber rifle, while shouting "you're just a bunch of feminists." Lepine then wandered the school hunting down other women before eventually killing himself.

The massacre shocked a country that prides itself on being less violent, less obsessed with guns than the U.S. But the response of many, both men and women, was to realize that more than just being the act of a "madman," the slaughter was both symptom and symptomatic of the routine violence that women are subjected to every day. A woman is raped every 17 minutes. One woman in eight is assaulted by her mate every year. One woman in four is sexually assaulted at some point in her life. It was suggested that this was the first time that women had been slaughtered simply for being women. In fact, women are murdered for being women all the time. But seldom is it done in such a spectacular and open way. Prostitutes are a favorite target for men who express their hatred for women in a murderous way. Serial killings of street women in Canada, while not as common as in the U.S., are certainly not unknown. But even this should not

on his body (termed a "suicide note") stated clearly that the killings were a political act. He also had a list of 15 women prominent in Quebec society, who were apparently potential victims. His choice of women studying engineering was not some random selection of victims, but a thought out effort to punish these women for intruding on a traditional male domain which he felt he had been denied access to.

Women in Thunder Bay, Ontario, were severly criticized when they held a women-only vigil. In Montreal, some women were asked by organizers of a vigil to remove signs from their backs that linked the massacre to the day-to-day violence inflicted on women. A male commentator on radio was called a "wimp" because he supported the feminist position on the slaughter, as though "real men" didn't support womens' struggles. "Copycat" incidents occured — cruel "jokes" involving toy guns pointed at women in at least two incidents.

But the rabid anti-feminist backlash has to be put into the context that both men and women did draw out the political and social implications of this vicious attack. In surveys, 40% of the respondents agreed with the feminist position. Much of the commentary in the mainstream media was surprisingly good. Two of the three daily papers in Toronto, for instance, editorially supported the link between the killings and the routine misogyny (woman-hating) that is the lot of women in Canada. In Canada there is a widespread understanding that the insane act of one man can not be separated from the

to make in the last few years are resented; that women are too often seen as a disparate collection of body parts and not individuals with their own needs, aspirations and rights. Violence against women is condoned in a multitude of ways; in jokes, in comments, in the tendency of men to blame women for their personal unhappiness or ineptitude.

Even before the killings, violence against women on university campuses had become an issue. At Queen's university, in Kingston, Ontario, a "No Means No!" campaign by the womens' center against date rape — the forcing of sex on a woman by a man who figures he is "owed it" as part of dating — had been met by a counter campaign. Signs were put up in a male residence saying "No means more beer" and "No means tie me up." Even after the Montreal massacre, the male students responsible for this nasty campaign were oblivious to the connection between their jovial attitudes towards rape and the systematic killing of the women.

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surfaced in Britain, where it worked to aid prisoners in the Spanish resistance. The past several years have seen the formation of several North American ABC and prisoner support groups, and the increased awareness of prisoner support and prison conditions. We see the formation of groups like the ABC as a necessary part of the growth and development of an anarchist resistance movement. In the end it is an anarchist goal to abolish the prison system and its creator, the State.

For information, to ask questions, or to pass along pertinent information feel free to contact any of the following groups:

Toronto ABC
PO Box 6326 Stn. A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7

Vancouver ABC
Box 2881 Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X4

ABC Latinoamericano
PO Box 45-1208, Miami, FL 33245

ABC Knoxville
Box 23061, Knoxville, TN 37933

Project 1313
PO Box 1313 Lawrence, KS 66044
WPSN — PO Box 770 Stn P
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2Z1
Borderlands
PO Box 8362 San Diego, CA 92102

lance corporation that works for pharmaceutical companies) to commit an illegal act in order to discredit the Animal Liberation Movement. She has been awaiting two trials, one in NYC, for possession of bombs and firearms, and one in Stamford, Connecticut, for planting a bomb outside the United States Surgical Corp., a surgical-supply company. On January 8, 1990, Fran was sentenced by a federal judge to the 14 months she has already spent in jail prior to her trial (two months longer than the maximum jail term allowed for this kind of possession charge) and ordered to serve three years of

later this year.

The agents who took part in the planning and the obtaining of the bombs and firearms, Mary Ann Sapone and Marcus Mead, have been investigated but have never had any charges filed against them. Currently, they are both still infiltrating political circles. ★

Spanish Prisoners Hunger Strike

LAST fall, Spanish political prisoners went on a hunger strike to demand release from isolation units and an end to a campaign of repression aimed at them. The prisoners, mostly members of GRAPO (October First Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Groups) and the PCE(r) (Communist Party of Spain — reconstituted), ended their strike after being promised by the PSOE (Socialist Party of Spain) government that their demands would be met. They held no illusions that these promises would be kept as they were granted during an election campaign. Like all "campaign promises" made by politicians these were soon broken. A month after the strike had ended (and the PSOE still in power) the government went back to its old policies. Sixteen prisoners who had taken part in the hunger strike were transferred to separate prisons and a new campaign of repression was started against them. This repression has included 24-hour isolation, mail censorship, beatings, torture, the threat of food poisoning, as well as an incident of a womyn prisoner being tied to a bed and forcefully stripped by the guards. In response to this, members of GRAPO, PCE(r) and others in solidarity (including Pablo Serrano, an anarchist prisoner) began another hunger strike on November 30. Their demands include an end to the repression and dispersals of prisoners. They feel the government is reverting back to the policies of fascist Spain in order to exterminate political prisoners and resistance. There are now 60 GRAPO/PCE(r) prisoners on hunger-strike. The strike has entered a critical stage with nine prisoners hospitalized, two of whom are in critical condition. from *Ecomedia Toronto Bulletin #70.*

wise) they wish to support/aid.

The Anarchist Red Cross was started in Tsarist Russia, to organize aid for political prisoners and self-defense against raids by the cossacks. During the Russian civil war, when the International Red Cross was organizing relief for that country, the Anarchist Red Cross adopted the name Black Cross to avoid confusion between the two groups. After the Bolsheviks seized power, the Black Cross moved to Berlin and continued to aid prisoners in what was then the Soviet Union. They also began supporting and aiding victims of Italian fascism, and prisoners of post-war German reaction. During the Depression, the Black Cross fell apart due to the incredible demand for support and a decline in financial aid.

In the late '60s the Black Cross resurfaced in Britain, where it worked to aid prisoners in the Spanish resistance. The past several years have seen the formation of several North American ABC and prisoner support groups, and the increased awareness of prisoner support and prison conditions. We see the formation of groups like the ABC as a necessary part of the growth and development of an anarchist resistance movement. In the end it is an anarchist goal to abolish the prison system and its creator, the State.

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JOHN PEROTTI HAS SPENT SIX and a half of the last eight years in solitary confinement because of his prison activism. During his time in prison he has worked as a jailhouse lawyer, filing lawsuits against prison officials for fellow prisoners. John is working now to organize an IWW

ditional 12–15 years. The parole board recently gave John a four year continuance due to his activism. During his years in prison John has been repeatedly beaten by guards, maced, blasted with water hoses, and kept for long periods of time in a sensory deprivation cell. He is still fighting.

On February 14, John will begin a hunger strike, along with two other prisoners. They are demanding: out of state transfers for those involved by 10 guards who entered his cell. Complaints about John's treatment, and letters of support for the hunger striker's demands should be sent to: Terry L. Morris, SOCF, PO Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699, (614 259-5544), and to George Wilson, Dept. of Rehabilitation and Corrections, 1050 Freeway Dr., Columbus, OH 43229, (614 466-6190). ★

Fran Trutt Sentenced

FRAN Trutt is an animal rights activist who was set up by agents working for PERCEPTIONS (a surveillance corporation that works for pharmaceutical companies) to commit an illegal act in order to discredit the Animal Liberation Movement. She has been awaiting two trials, one in NYC, for possession of bombs and firearms, and one in Stamford, Connecticut, for planting a bomb outside the United States Surgical Corp., a surgical-supply company. On January 8, 1990, Fran was sentenced by a federal judge to the 14 months she has already spent in jail prior to her trial (two months longer than the maximum jail term allowed for this kind of possession charge) and ordered to serve three years of probation and undergo psychiatric therapy after her trial in Connecticut is completed, which will take place later this year.

The agents who took part in the planning and the obtaining of the bombs and firearms, Mary Ann Sapone and Marcus Mead, have been investigated but have never had any charges filed against them. Currently, they are both still infiltrating political circles. ★

Spanish Prisoners Hunger Strike

LAST fall, Spanish political prisoners went on a hunger strike to demand release from isolation units and an end to a campaign of repression aimed at them. The prisoners, mostly members of GRAPO (October

were transferred to separate prisons and a new campaign of repression was started against them. This repression has included 24-hour isolation, mail censorship, beatings, torture, the threat of food poisoning, as

with nine prisoners hospitalized, two of whom are in critical condition. from *Ecomedia Toronto Bulletin* #70.

Anarchist Black Cross

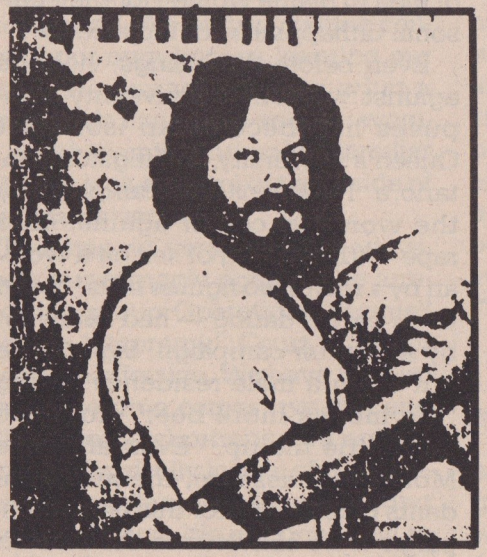
The **ABC** section is compiled by New York Anarchist Black Cross from information supplied by various ABC and prisoner support groups, as well as other sources. As such, it acts as a clearinghouse for information on both anarchist and non-anarchist prisoners, and information on prison conditions and struggles.

The Anarchist Black Cross is an international network of autonomous groups of anarchists working to aid and support anarchist, class war, and other prisoners. Although there is a listing of specific "Anarchist Black Cross Prisoners" selected by various ABC groups, each group decides which prisoners (anarchist, or otherwise) they wish to support/aid.

The Anarchist Red Cross was started in Tsarist Russia, to organize aid for political prisoners and self-defense against raids by the cossacks. During the Russian civil war, when the International Red Cross was organizing relief for that country, the Anarchist Red Cross adopted the name Black Cross to avoid confusion between the two groups. After the Bolsheviks seized power, the Black Cross moved to Berlin and continued to aid prisoners in what was then the Soviet Union. They also began supporting and aiding victims of Italian fascism, and prisoners of post-war German reaction. During the Depression, the Black Cross fell apart due to the incredible demand for support and a decline in financial aid.

In the late '60s the Black Cross re-

John Perotti on Hunger Strike



JOHN PEROTTI HAS SPENT SIX and a half of the last eight years in solitary confinement because of his prison activism. During his time in prison he has worked as a jailhouse lawyer, filing lawsuits against prison officials for fellow prisoners. John is working now to organize an IWW union within the prison to fight for safe working conditions and minimum wage for the prisoners. Jailed at the age of 19 for a $7 robbery, he has since had additional sentences added to his time. While in prison, a conviction was added for "aggravated assault" when John defended himself against a beating by nine guards. Recently, in September 1988, he was charged with the alleged stabbing of another prisoner. Although the evidence proved his innocence, he was sentenced to an additional 12–15 years. The parole board recently gave John a four year continuance due to his activism. During his years in prison John has been repeatedly beaten by guards, maced, blasted with water hoses, and kept for long periods of time in a sensory deprivation cell. He is still fighting.

On February 14, John will begin a hunger strike, along with two other prisoners. They are demanding: out of state transfers for those involved in the strike; increased wages for prisoners; collective bargaining; decrease in sentences; abolition of the death penalty; close the J—1 Control Unit; stop behavioral management; allow isolation prisoners property, literature and contact visits; stop strip searches, beating, maceing and murder of prisoners; prosecution of guards who abuse prisoners; provide adequate medical treatment; provide due process before placement in isolation.

On February 2, John was beaten by 10 guards who entered his cell. Complaints about John's treatment, and letters of support for the hunger striker's demands should be sent to: Terry L. Morris, SOCF, PO Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699, (614 259-5544), and to George Wilson, Dept. of Rehabilitation and Corrections, 1050 Freeway Dr., Columbus, OH 43229, (614 466-6190). ★

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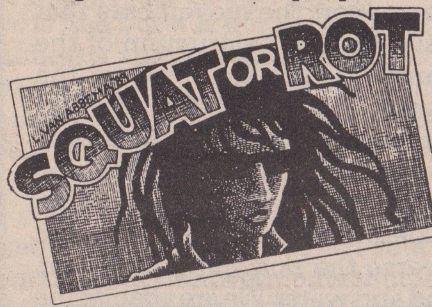
The first occupation of ABC was as deeply felt a direct action as I have ever participated in. Meetings were extremely productive. There was no room for political maneuvering or personal opportunism. The fight to establish ABC was crucial to our neighborhood. It would offer vitally needed services to a community targetted for extinction by developers and the city administration.

The deterioration of P.S. 105 on East Fourth Street revealed the dedeveloper's sleazy intentions: let the neighborhood run down; let drug dealing continue; drive people out of



their apartments by raising rents; force them into the streets, the shelters or overcrowded low-income projects; keep people fighting among themselves and eventually those who had once cared about this community would run for their lives. P.S. 105, left abandoned for 10 years, had become a notorious shooting gallery and drug supermarket. Despite daily phone calls to the local precinct by people on the block, the cops said there was nothing they could do to evict the junkies.

Then, on September 24, the first group of homeless people and squatters took over the building, and within 24 hours they had managed to accomplish what the police and the city had been either unable or unwilling to do ... just food and classes, ABC was a direct response to the violence and alienation of living on the streets. It wasn't just a symbol, it was the real deal to many people.

The pigs swooped down on October 26. The people fought off the cops in the streets and in the building for 14 hours, lighting fires in the avenue, igniting police barricades and hurling sacks of concrete and buckets of piss at the rent-a-thugs below. In the end 43 of us were busted, and several cops and a reporter were injured.

One of the women who worked hardest on ABC was Sandy. She moved from Tompkins Square Park into the school and spent hours doing outreach and tabling. Her warm personality and smile made her one of the best people we had for getting names for our ABC support list. On the day the cops came for ABC, their first blow was against Sandy. They yanked her table from her and threw it against her abdomen. A week later she miscarried and lost her baby. Those of us who knew Sandy dragged the table into the middle of Avenue B and burned it. The cops tried to stop us, but we insisted and won. I was one of those who set the fire, and I was busted for preventing the cops from putting it out. I stand by our right to burn that table.

After we lost the school, life and the cruel realities of being homeless struck, and the group of people that first dared dream of ABC scattered. For some of us, our concerns shifted back to Tompkins Square Park. Parks Department personnel and local politicians announced that the homeless people who had set up tents would be swept from the park by the second week of December.

the park.

Those of us who stayed on the outside spent the next few days running between ABC and the park trying to keep on top of both situations. By the following Thursday, we were worn out and spread thin. The cops hit the park at 6:30 a.m. Realizing that no one was coming out to help them defend their homes, the homeless people in the park doused their tents with lighter fluid and burned them to the ground. By 11 a.m. only the scorched earth remained. It was then that the people in the park began to curse ABC.

Relations between the people in the park and the activists worsened after that. The people in the park watched all the food and firewood pass them by on the way to ABC or the camps we had set up in the lots across the street. Many of those who had spent all year fighting alongside the people in the park, including some of the anarchists, seemed to have given up the park issue for dead. The "real, revolutionary action" was at ABC now.

A round-the-clock police watch meant no going in or our of the building for the first two weeks. Relations within the building became a cesspool of bickering and political posturing. Weeks passed; the fighting never stopped, and work to prepare the building for its reopening as a community center never got done.

Many of us who worked with the first ABC occupation felt compelled to support this re-occupation against our better judgement because we had continued to demand the return of ABC and most of us were still facing charges from the October 26 riot. Also, we had friends in the building, and we didn't want to abandon ... occupational group was convinced that opening the front doors would give the cops the opportunity to seize the building. Rather than take the risk of losing ABC, the front doors were kept tightly sealed, effectively locking-out both the community and the cops. As long as the community was locked-out, ABC was in contradiction with what it had set out to become.

The day the cops finally came for ABC was a mild January morning, no snow or freezing rain to blame for the small turn-out. Battalions of cops broke from a pre-dawn strategy briefing and took the building with relative ease. Blowtorches cut through the front door in short order. Police dogs sniffed out the locations of everyone in the building. The 10 people caught in the school were arrested and charged with criminal trespassing. Only three people were arrested trying to oppose the police action. The swarming angry mass of people that showed up October 26 never came together. By 4 p.m. we had lost the school and both lots across the street (the ABC Support Camps) where another 20 people were living. The homeless people packed up their carts and moved on. The cops lied and told them, "If it wasn't for the anarchists and communists, we'd let you back into the lots." The press was calling us everything from thieves to satanists to cannibals. The reason we had fought for ABC was lost in the muddle of lies.

ABC is gone now. It's being gutted and remodeled into a shelter for senior citizens. Those of us who set out to build a community center run by and for homeless people were deeply saddened to see ABC lost.★

Photo courtesy

Squatters fight with cops outside ABC community center

BY FREE I

"HOMELESS, NOT HELPLESS," were the buttons they wore when they left their tents in Tompkins Square Park and marched to D.C. for the October 6 "Housing Now" march. They came back to town fed up with liberal lobby tactics and sold-out by the homeless advocacy corporations who had left them without the food, rain gear and medical care they were promised when they left New York. They knew they could do better by pursuing their own solutions. That's when Alpha-Bet City Community Center (ABC) was born.

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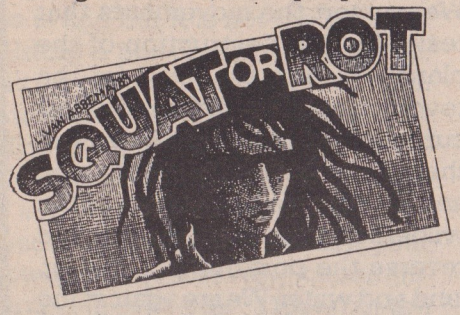

their apartments by raising rents; force them into the streets, the shelling to do, namely turn a building which had been polluting our neighborhood into a positive vehicle for change.

The community applauded and thanked us. Drawing on the richest resource — the talents and skills of the people of this community — ABC soon established a referral network for homeless people, providing medical care, drug counseling and classes in job skills, language, political education, the arts and preparation for the high school equivalency exam. Free clothes and a free meal were available to anyone who walked through its open doors. More than just food and classes, ABC was a direct response to the violence and alienation of living on the streets. It wasn't just a symbol, it was the real deal to many people.

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A schedule of classes was finally released and posted through the neighborhood. While the offerings listed were impressive, in the end it was always the same. Two or three cops and truckload of police barricades were enough to intimidate those involved from opening the front door. Anyone wanting to go in or out had to be smuggled in through the back, over two tall fences. The re-occupational group was convinced that opening the front doors would give the cops the opportunity to seize the building. Rather than take the risk of losing ABC, the front doors were kept tightly sealed, effectively locking-out both the community and the cops. As long as the community was locked-out, ABC was in contradiction with what it had set out to become.

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Community Center Raided

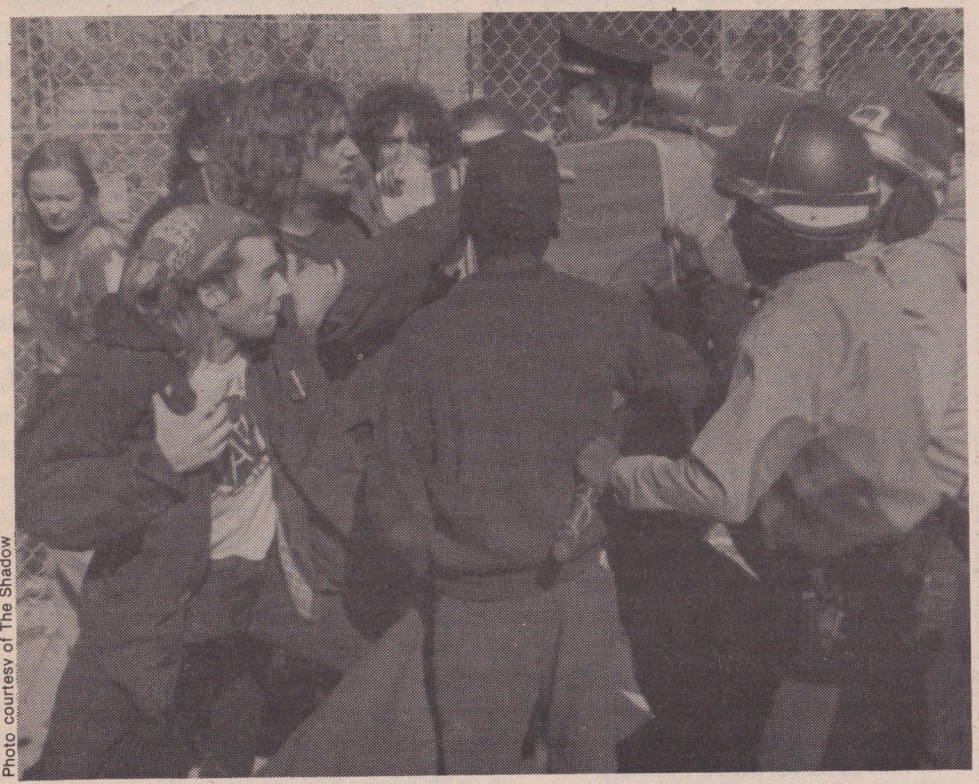

Photo courtesy of The Shadow

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A two-day festival of music and speakers was planned to mobilize the community to defend the park against the imminent police invasion. Saturday was uplifting. Despite bitter wind and an occasional snow flurry, people huddled around fire barrels passing many a beer, many a spliff, discussing how to confront this latest threat.

Sunday was supposed to set it off. The cops skirted around the periphery hissing, "Enjoy it while it lasts. We're coming in this week." We returned their threats with our own forms of indignation. A crowd gathered; then problems with the sound system created long delays and a lot of people left. It was in the middle of the first speaker when the roar of another demonstration could be heard coming down St. Marks Place.

Two hundred protesters from the ACT-UP "Stop the Church" demo at St. Patrick's Cathedral earlier that morning had marched downtown to support us. A celebration of handshakes and high-fives broke out all around us. And then an announcement came out of nowhere. A guy I hadn't seen around in about three weeks broke into the speaker as he was welcoming our new friends from ACT-UP and announced, "ABC has just been retaken. We are going to leave the park and march over to support this action. Follow me." Within a matter of minutes, the park was empty again. Those who remained stood around with blank faces and questions. "Who took ABC?" Finally the answer came: the action was initiated by the Revolutionary Homeless Organization, a bogus RCP front group consisting of a party hack, a member of their youth group and one homeless man from the park.

them. Like it or not, we were forced to work with the RCP.

But ABC was no more than a symbol for the Maoists, a prop for them to hang their dogma over. They were far more interested in letting people know they were there than helping us open it up as a community center. In fact, when RHO first went into the building, they didn't even plan on being there for more than a few days. It was just a photo opportunity for them, great copy for the Revolutionary Worker. They put our community center on the cover of their paper, and then asked us to pay a dollar to read how they distorted the truth to fit their party line. They refused to call ABC a squat. ABC couldn't be a squat because the RCP doesn't support squatting. Squatting is too individualistic, too anarchic! They even removed the squatter symbol from one of our leaflets and replaced it with some generic X-mas picture. I never got over the feeling that the RCP was taking our dream about ABC and running it into the ground with all their rhetoric and authoritarianism. "It's more important that we keep ABC than for you to fight with the communists," was what my friends kept telling me. I went along with the program, but this new occupation was becoming too much like a "vanguard party" for me.

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actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any prepackaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the constant and radical revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Political Statement

Love and Rage is revolutionary.

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the emergence of a fighting movement as a step toward making the social revolution.

Love and Rage is anti-statist.

We oppose all States whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.

Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

We support all efforts to overthrow all forms of class rule and state power. We support strikes and other forms of workers struggle for control of the means of production.

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We support the self-determination of Mexicans, Chicanos, Native Americans and other oppressed groups. We recognize the special oppression of African-Americans since slavery to the present and fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the U.S. We fight the resurgence of anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism. We take front rank in the fight against racist skinhead, klan, nazi and cop terror.

Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

We support the right of self-determination of nationalities oppressed by the various forms of imperialism. We fight to get the U.S. out of Central America, Puerto Rico and all other lands. We support the destruction of the U.S. Federal State. We support the destruction of the Soviet Empire and the liberation of its peoples. We are for the destruction of Apartheid, the IMF, World Bank, multinational corporations and other forms of imperialism.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

We are for the liberation and self-determination of all womyn. We are fighters against patriarchy and for the empowerment of womyn. This means, minimally, unquestionable reproductive freedom for all womyn regardless of race or economic status and a world free of sexist violence. We recognize that the oppression of womyn is necessary to the continued functioning of the State. The State will not solve our problems. Our liberation lies in the overthrow of the State.

Love and Rage supports Lesbian, Biaffectionate (Bisexual) and Gay liberation.

We reject the compulsory heter-

struggles of youth against their specific oppression.

Love and Rage makes a special effort to provide a platform for youth. We recognize that the revolutionary future lies with the youth.

Love and Rage supports the struggle against the domination of the natural world.

We recognize that the current industrial order, built on the exploitation of the planet and its inhabitants, has given rise to an ecological crisis that threatens the very survival of life on the planet. We support the movements that resist further destruction of the planet. We see the need for the revolutionary transformation of our relations with the planet and the species on it. We want to stop and reverse the destruction of the wilderness. We want to stop and reverse the poisoning of the air, land and water. We are against the exploitation of animals in factory farming and testing systems. We oppose the attacks by the State on the animal liberation movement.

This statement does not attempt to include all issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians, nor does *Love and Rage* pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

capitalist: nationalization of banks and major industries as the means for consolidating their power. But the events in Eastern Europe cast new

Cape Town protest demands release of prisoners

them an opponent that is in the midst of an ideological crisis.

The smarter white capitalists of South Africa know that they have no future unless they negotiate with the ANC. They may not be willing now

ized, and their bureaucratic management is to blame for much of South Africa's current economic woes. Furthermore, the ANC does not want to risk unleashing the revolutionary potential of the Azanian people for fear that they would be quickly left behind in the dust. Already there are significant sections of the anti-apartheid movement that want more than the ANC has to offer.

Autonomous Action

At the very moment that Mandela was being released from prison, Black youth were looting shops in downtown Cape Town. The ANC joined the apartheid regime in denouncing them. After a 25-minute speech, Mandela appealed to all attending his welcome rally to disperse without doing anything that "will lead others to say we can't control our own people." These inci-

apartheid could see the emergence of a real Black middle class and thereby the creation of new internal markets for South African goods. Tony Bloom, the Afrikaner Donald Trump, has emphasized these potential profits in his calls for negotiations with the ANC.

There are many forces in the anti-apartheid movement that are independent of the ANC. Some of them, like the PAC (which rejects the ANC's multi-racialism), also aspire to be the new ruling class. But others, such as the more independent unions in COSATU (the main labor union federation), and the township youth known as the Comrades, may represent authentic and revolutionary forms of self-organization.

The release of Mandela and the legalization of the banned organiza-

(Continued on page 14)

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Love and Rage is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any prepackaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the constant and radical revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

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South Africa

(Continued from cover)

the leadership of the anti-apartheid groups, particularly the ANC.

What the ANC wants

The ANC has the support of the vast majority of Black South Africans (Azanians) because it offers the best prospects for ending the hated apartheid system. But that is not all the ANC stands for. The leadership of the ANC aspires to be the new ruling class of a new South Africa. Until recently the ANC's economic plans for South Africa were predictably state capitalist: nationalization of banks and major industries as the means for consolidating their power. But the events in Eastern Europe cast new light on the situation. The ANC is dominated by the South African Communist Party (25 of the ANC's 35-member Executive Committee are SACP members), which has been one of the most loyally pro-Moscow CPs outside Eastern Europe. In the past, that loyalty meant predictable apologies for the crimes of Stalinism. Now it means perestroika and questioning the total control of the economy by the State. How this affects the program of the ANC is up for grabs. What it means for de Klerk's National Party, however, is that beginning negotiations with the ANC now gives them an opponent that is in the midst of an ideological crisis.

The smarter white capitalists of South Africa know that they have no future unless they negotiate with the ANC. They may not be willing now to concede what they will eventually have to concede, but they know they must negotiate. They know that they will have to concede one person-one vote and basic democratic rights to the Black majority. The rapid changes in the orientation of the SACP have eased their fears over the socialist rhetoric of nationalization. Now the liberal capitalists hope they can cut a deal with the ANC where they can retain significant economic power.

Cape Town protest demands release of prisoners

The ANC, for its part, is probably not altogether hostile to such a deal. Significant sections of the South African economy are already nationalized, and their bureaucratic management is to blame for much of South Africa's current economic woes. Furthermore, the ANC does not want to risk unleashing the revolutionary potential of the Azanian people for fear that they would be quickly left behind in the dust. Already there are significant sections of the anti-apartheid movement that want more than the ANC has to offer.

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A negotiated transfer of power could actually prove quite profitable for certain sections of the white capitalists. The orderly dismantling of apartheid could see the emergence of a real Black middle class and thereby the creation of new internal markets for South African goods. Tony Bloom, the Afrikaner Donald Trump, has emphasized these potential profits in his calls for negotiations with the ANC.

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Clash In Panama

New Panamanian President sworn in at U.S. military base

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

SANTA CAME EARLY CHANGING his traditional Christmas outfit for camouflage fatigues, he came down dropping bombs and firing grapeshot, this time on the people of Panama. Thus, in the early hours of December 20, 13,000 soldiers of the U.S. Army began its latest imperialist attack on the people of the isthmus.

The number of invaders bringing this terrorist Christmas gift climbed to 26,000 when, after seizing the positions of the Panamanian Defense Forces, the U.S. Army savagely attacked the civilian population. They indiscriminately bombarded the neighborhoods of Nueve de Enero and Los Andes in the San Miguelito district; the district of Chorrillo was reduced to ruins, bringing memories of the atrocities committed in Vietnam.

George Bush tied himself in knots trying to justify the invasion. He claimed the invasion was necessary as part of the "war on drugs," to eliminate the military dictatorship of Manuel Noriega, restore democracy to Panama and to respond to the "imminent danger" facing U.S. citizens living in Panama. But the real purpose was clear: to maintain U.S. hegemony and absolute domination over the canal.

Democracy Restored at the Point of Bayonets

"Just Cause," as the operation was cynically baptized, was a "success," according to the president. It succeeded in imposing on the Panamanian people Endara's puppet government, which was sworn in at a U.S. military base moments after the invasion began.

On January 3, the Panamanian ex-dictator, Manuel Antonio Noriega, who had taken refuge in the Papal Nunciate, voluntarily surrendered to the U.S. authorities after reaching agreements with the Vatican and the White House. He was arrested on narcotics charges and taken to the U.S. where he awaits trial in Miami.

Who Is Manuel Antonio Noriega?

At the end of 1988 and the beginning of '89, the State Department, White House, DEA and other U.S. institutions "discovered" the narco-general Noriega and unleashed a fierce campaign against him. But all those who fall for the disinformation that comes out of Washington and the slander campaigns of the kept press need to ask themselves a question: where did Noriega come from?

The Panamanian ex-dictator is certainly a vulgar drug-dealer, who amassed his sizable fortune by carrying out an infinite number of drug deals and participating in innumerable covert operations of the CIA, laundering drug money destined to arm paramilitary groups, etc. But, the "honorable" president of the U.S., who today denounces Noriega and tries to justify the aggression against the Panamanian people by raising these charges against him, wasn't it he who, when the director of the "company," who gave the orders to carry out these operations?

Among Noriega's personal aides there were a number of men whose very presence shows that Noriega's drug-trafficking activities were known to the U.S. government. One of these men was Michael Harari, a former official of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency. This unscrupulous Israeli was implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal, purchasing Israeli arms with drug dollars in Oliver North's plan to help the Nicaraguan contras. All the U.S. ruling class can really accuse Noriega of is insubordination, since it was they who created the monster.

Why then did the U.S. use the pretext of a "war on drugs" and "restoring democracy" to invade Panama and eliminate Noriega? Why this Yankee preoccupation with dictators

ment had not made a decision about the negotiations with the U.S. over a canal connecting both oceans across the isthmus of Panama. As a result, the Yankee government incited and sponsored a rebellion of Panamanian separatists, who demanded the "independence" of this region of Colombia. In exchange for support against "Colombian aggression," the rebels committed the new State to selling the U.S. the land through which the canal would be built.

The Yankees then paid the Colombian government $25 million, which helped quiet opposition to the deal.

Very quickly, the canal began to generate millions of dollars in revenue. Seven military bases were constructed, increasing U.S. hegemony over the area. Immediately, the big U.S. companies went on a spree in Panama, finding an appropriate environment there for their activities, legal and illegal.

After the signing of the treaty of 1942, the U.S. augmented its military presence in the canal zone, considerably increasing the number of bases and installations. The general headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command was built there, which was (until 1985) the site of the School of the Americas, or "School of Dictators." It is there that the future dictators of Latin America are weaned and trained in the "art" of repression and torture.

In 1977 the U.S. was forced to negotiate a new treaty over the canal, pressured by General Omar Torrijos. Torrijos organized a powerful "anti-imperialist" propaganda campaign, inspired by bourgeois and nationalist concepts, that reflected both his

(Continued on page 13)

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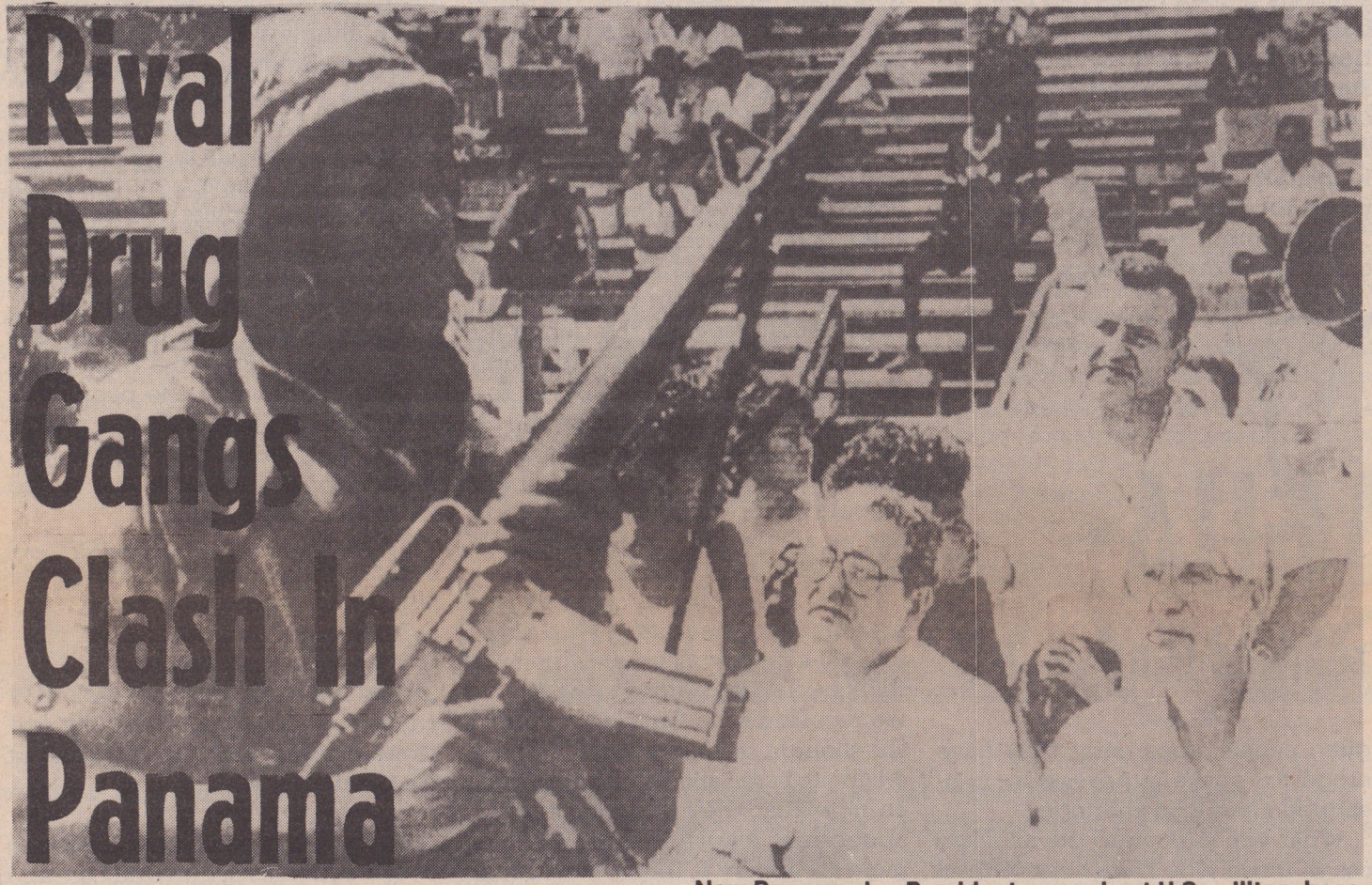
This is expressed in an updated

(Continued on page 14)

Rival Drug Gangs Clash In Panama



New Panamanian President sworn in at U.S. military base

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

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and drug-traffickers?

Stroessner, the dictator of Paraguay was a known drug-trafficker in the "Southern Cone" of South America. Baby Doc, no longer with us, controlled a great part of the movement of drugs in the Caribbean, utilizing the diplomatic pouches and immunity of Haiti's foreign representatives for this purpose. None of these known drug dealers were threatened with invasion. On the contrary, the U.S. financed and backed their regimes. Why invade Panama?

Let's Look at Some History

At the close of the Colombian civil war in 1903, the Columbian government had not made a decision about the negotiations with the U.S. over a canal connecting both oceans across the isthmus of Panama. As a result, the Yankee government incited and sponsored a rebellion of Panamanian separatists, who demanded the "independence" of this region of Colombia. In exchange for support against "Colombian aggression," the rebels committed the new State to selling the U.S. the land through which the canal would be built.

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After the signing of the treaty of

Wall Street Action To Radicalize Earth Day

BY WAYNE PRICE

"WE WILL FILL THE STREETS with people, disrupting 'business as usual' with our own Celebration of Life" reads the leaflet for the Earth Day Wall Street Action. The plan to "radicalize Earth Day" and focus anger over the environmental crisis at Wall Street "where our future is bought, sold and traded at whim" stands in stark contrast to the media circus planned by the corporate-sponsored Earth Day 1990™.

Liberal environmentalists are preparing for large scale "Earth Day 1990" activities this spring. Earth Day will be Sunday, April 22, ending a week of planned festivals and rallies. At the first Earth Day in 1970, millions of people participated from tens of thousands of schools, colleges, and communities, in events ranging from nature walks to protest demonstrations.

Left Greens and other anti-authoritarian activists are also organizing — to "Radicalize Earth Day." There will be a variety of events including direct action on Wall Street. This will focus attention on capitalism as the cause of the ecological crisis.

The Earth Day Wall Street Action is scheduled for April 23, the Monday after the official Earth Day.

The Liberal Environmentalists

The official Earth Day (or Earth Week) program has been called by a coalition of establishment leaders called Earth Day 1990™. The National Board of Directors includes business executives, heads of the large Washington, D.C.-based environmental groups including Laurence Rockefeller, "President, American Conservation Association"; media bosses such as Ted Turner and the Director of the *New York Times*; a couple of union bureaucrats like the presidents of the Autoworkers and the Machinists; Ralph Nader, and, of course, politicians, including six governors, ten senators and representatives, and Jesse Jackson. Excepting Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, there are no African-American organizations represented. The International Board of Sponsors includes Robert McNamara, "Former President of the World Bank," and also former war criminal during the Vietnam War.

Want to Save the Earth? Lobby for a Miracle

Half the planet's species are in danger of extinction. The ozone layer is being destroyed. The planet is warming up. The air, land, and water are being poisoned. Waste products accumulate while nonrenewable resources are wasted. Conventional energy sources are nonrenewable and polluting. Nuclear energy is even more dangerous. The forests are dying. Famine threatens large parts of the world. The ecological web of life and nonlife within which the human species lives is being unraveled by human actions. Human civilization and even human survival is threatened, as much as by the threat of nuclear war.

The Earth Day 1990™ board and others have drafted "The Valdez Principles," "guidelines" for corporations and investors. The liberal environmentalists also want the government to regulate individual capitalists and tax them to pay for pollution clean-up programs. They want government to look like it is doing something. In order to do this, they need popular pressure backing them.

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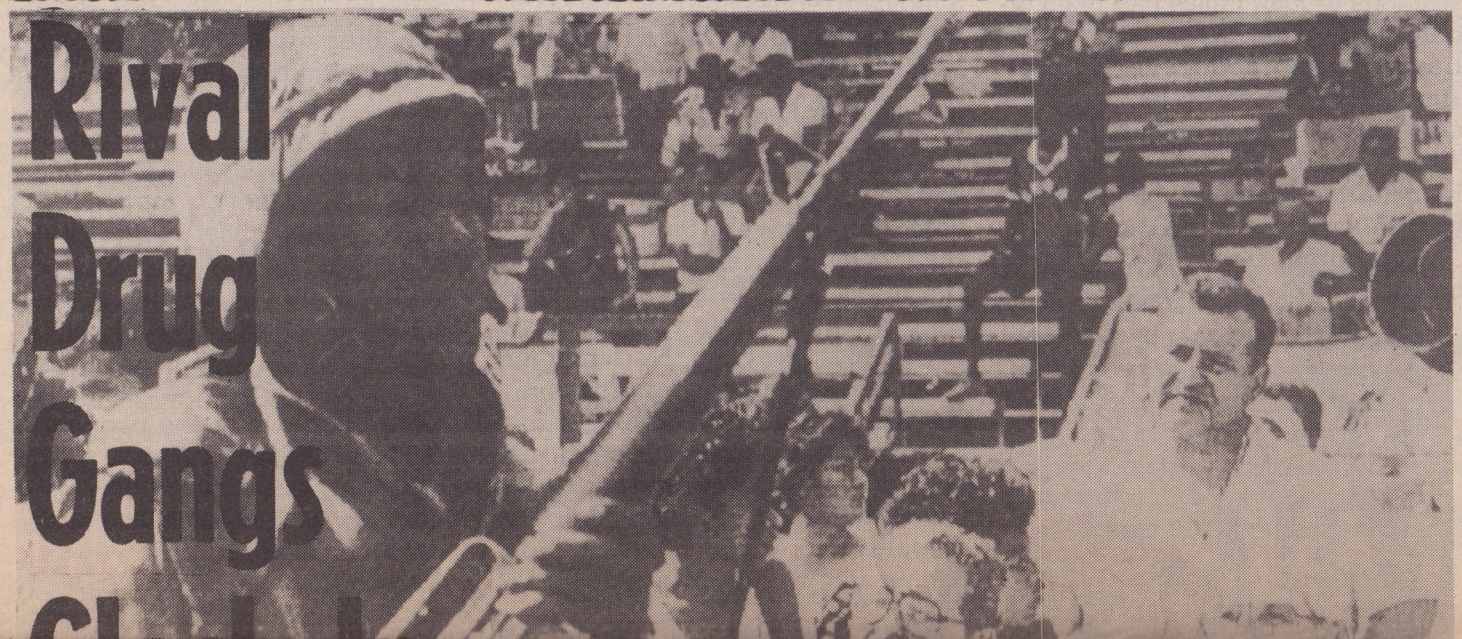
Rival Drug Gangs



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NICARAGUA:

Goodbye to the Promised Land

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

THE DEFEAT OF THE SANDINISTAS at the polls February 25 came as a shock to the whole world. While it is impossible to guess all that the victory of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro will mean for Nicaragua, its implications for North American radicals are clear. The promised land of the left is gone. Unlike the dusty bureaucracies of Eastern Europe, the revolutionary veneer had not yet worn off the Sandinistas. The sections of the North American left who worship at the altars of State power have just been told their god is dead.

The Nicaraguan elections were a spectacle that had little to do with the Nicaraguan people actually exercising control over their own lives. The cynical employment of baby kissing and other such campaign techniques by both sides made clear that for all the attention, this was an election like any other, devoid of real options.

The National Opposition Union (UNO) is a collection of political opportunists ranging from apologists for Moscow to apologists for Washington and the contras. It is not at all clear how such a coalition will hold together once the contra commanders currently lounging in Miami fly back to Managua. It is a sign of the utter bankruptcy of the authoritarian left that such a rogues' gallery could defeat the Sandinistas. In the eyes of North American leftists the Sandinistas may have stood for literacy campaigns, health clinics and agricultural cooperatives. But to the Nicaraguan people, apparently, they have stood for strike suppression, conscription and food shortages.

What will happen to the allegiances of those who have been faithful to the Sandinistas? Some will undoubtedly scurry to the closest despot waving a red flag — Castro or Deng or who knows. But for those who retain a shred of critical sensibility, this should be the end of the statist road. The vision of a free and just world without bosses cannot be imposed from above by a self-appointed revolutionary elite holding the reins of State power. State power is not a shortcut to the society we want, it is a dead end.

Nicaragua undoubtedly faces a troubled future. The UNO victory is also a victory for U.S. imperialism. As in Eastern Europe, the U.S. will seek to capitalize on this expression of popular discontent. Opening our eyes to the nature of the Sandinistas does not mean stepping back from the solidarity and resistance that is demanded of us by the people of Central America.

What the people of Central America need from North American radicals now is solidarity without illusions. Nobody did the Nicaraguan people any favors by painting pretty pictures of the Sandinistas. We all deserve better choices than the Nicaraguan people were given. We will only have those better choices when we dispense with politicians and commandantes and make the revolution from below. ★

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After the meeting discussions and debates continued, along with dancing and lots of drinking. Reactions to the meeting were largely positive. A woman skin from Chicago said that she thought the men would be more willing to listen and work with women now that they had heard some speeches. Another woman was more sceptical: "It seems like ARA is seen only as men; this was a good start but it's going to take more than this for it to change."

Politically the Syndicate has changed tremendously since the other anti-racist skinhead groups like SHARP in New York who have attacked anarchist activists and other radicals.

Participants in Chicago said they want more concrete organizing and strategizing at the next meeting of the Syndicate. ★

To receive a newsletter updating you on activities of the Syndicate and the entire Anti-Racist Action movement send a SASE to:

Anti-Racist Action
PO Box 7471
Minneapolis, MN 55407

WARSAW WARCHEST TOUR

AT LEAST 200 MEMBERS OF Anarchist Inter-City, waving black flags and shouting "Down With Prices!" ran through Warsaw, January 12 breaking windows in the Polish Senate and Communist Party headquarters and barging into a luxury hotel. It was the first street protest against the harsh economic austerity measures imposed by the Solidarity-led government. The anarchists also marched on Solidarność headquarters and ripped down posters outside the building of Solidarność leader Lech Walesa. They also shouted insults against Solidarność Labor Minister Jacek Kuron, who has called for the creation of soup kitchens to offset the poverty created by the austerity measures. The measures are expected to cause a 20% drop in real income and widespread unemployment.

While guards prevented the protest from getting into the parliament, the window-smashing forced the Senate to suspend debates on the austerity budget. The march then went to the Communist Party headquarters. Windows were smashed and a firebomb was thrown inside. The fire was put out by an attendant. They then marched on the Inter-Continental hotel, gained entrance to the lobby, but were prevented from getting into the restaurants. They finished by marching on Solidarność headquarters.

Police did not intervene during the two-hour demonstration. The Communist Party officially protested saying "We cannot build a state of law while tolerating lawlessness."

Also in Poland, militant demonstrations in December in the steel town of Nowa Huta forced the removal of a statue of Lenin. Students in two cities occupied Communist Party buildings in January to demand that they be handed over to the universities. ★

stand against sexism. "If we only fight against racism we are being contradictory, there are other oppressions that we need to confront too," he said. Next, the featured speaker Dr. Barbara M. Scott, an African-American woman and professor of Women's Studies at a Chicago college spoke on the interrelations of different oppressions (racism, sexism, homophobia). After her short talk the questions from women members of the Syndicate centered

the emergence of a strong grassroots movement. In Indianapolis and Cincinnati successful counterdemonstrations to Klan rallies had been organized. In Chicago anti-racist skinheads organized several Rock Against Racism concerts, defending one from nazi attack. In Minneapolis, Anti-Racist Action provided security for Black-led demonstrations against police brutality.

A comment from the Cincinnati contingent on problems they had

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Nate is Latvian-American and wears a Latvian flag in support of the independence movement there. But he says his anti-Soviet politics are not the same as the U.S.'s Cold War politics. "There isn't anything right-wing about fighting for freedom."

Marty, a skin from Chicago was pretty blunt. "Fuck the U.S. I mean it's a good country, the people are good, but George Bush is a fuckin' racist. This country ain't done shit for Black people. I'm Black Power and I'm for the working class."

These ideas are a step ahead of other anti-racist skinhead groups like SHARP in New York who have attacked anarchist activists and other radicals.

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Anti-Racist Skinheads Confront Sexism

BY KIERAN FRAZIER

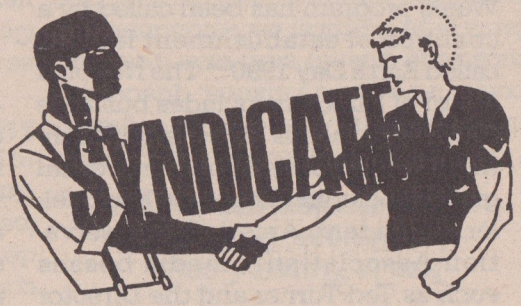
OVER 75 ANTI-RACIST SKINheads from six cities gathered in Chicago over New Year's week-end to discuss strategy in the battle against nazi skinheads. This was the fourth meeting of the Syndicate, a network of anti-racist skins and other anti-racist youth from the Midwest.

The theme of the Chicago meeting was fighting sexism in the scene and connecting that to the anti-racist movement. This was a very positive development considering the sexism among skinhead crews.

Mikki, an African-American skinhead and the main organizer of the gathering opened the meeting by urging the Syndicate to take a firmer stand against sexism. "If we only fight against racism we are being contradictory, there are other oppressions that we need to confront too," he said. Next, the featured speaker Dr. Barbara M. Scott, an African-American woman and professor of Women's Studies at a Chicago college spoke on the interrelations of different oppressions (racism, sexism, homophobia). After her short talk the questions from women members of the Syndicate centered mainly on the economic discrimination against women. A member of the pro-Albanian Marxist-Leninist Organization asked a couple of "questions" about some political point that he disagreed with her on. The ensuing debate made little sense to most of the Syndicate members. The next speaker was supposed to speak on a campus pro-choice group to which she belonged. Instead, she announced she would speak on the other organization of which she was a member, the International Socialist Organization, a trotskyist group.

After the ISO speech, representatives from each crew spoke on what was going on in their city, revealing the emergence of a strong grassroots movement. In Indianapolis and Cincinnati successful counterdemonstrations to Klan rallies had been organized. In Chicago anti-racist skinheads organized several Rock Against Racism concerts, defending one from nazi attack. In Minneapolis, Anti-Racist Action provided security for Black-led demonstrations against police brutality.

A comment from the Cincinnati contingent on problems they had had with "racist, Black Power gang members" sparked the most interesting debate. Several skins defended Black Power and urged people to seek out alliances with young Blacks in order to fight the real enemy. Mike, an African-American skinhead from Minneapolis explained "it's not the Brothers on the corner with Black Power tattoos that's the enemy, we gotta fight the State."



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After the meeting discussions and first meeting. One of the biggest indications of the change is the flags that anti-racist skins wore on their bomber jackets. A year ago, at the first Syndicate meeting, U.S. flags were the most commonly worn; these supposedly symbolized the American melting pot, the U.S. war against Nazi Germany, etc. At the Chicago meeting, many attendees were very critical of the United States, some even considering themselves revolutionaries. Fewer people were sporting Old Glory; other flag patches were being worn instead: Irish, Latvian, and the Green, Black and Red of Black nationalism.

Nate, an anti-racist skin in the Baldies crew, explained the change: "People have gotten educated in the Syndicate to what this country is all about, so they've lost that (U.S.) flag. People found their own nationalities as an alternative. We see people in our homelands are oppressed, and then we see oppression here."

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NICARAGUA:

Miami Rebellion, January 1989

MIAMI: A Little Justice At Last

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN EASY. A police officer shoots a motorcycle driver in the head, kills him immediately, his companion dies hours later as a result of injuries sustained in the crash. The obvious verdict is guilty of unpremeditated murder. But, in a racist and police-ridden system, this is not the case, even when the evidence is clear. Despite the fact that the case was not complex it was almost impossible to achieve a guilty verdict for William Lozano in the city of Miami. During the last decade in Miami we have seen the police commit abuses and murders against the Black community with impunity. But this time, pressures beyond the control of the prosecution had a great impact on the trial and were able to change history.

The mass protests and aggressive rebellions that exploded in the Black neighborhoods throughout Dade County for three days after the murders of the Black youths, Clement Lloyd and Allan Blanchard, forced the authorities to carry out justice against their will.

This was not the first time the Black community in the city of Miami rebelled. On previous occasions and for the same reasons, Black people took to the streets demanding respect and justice. Over the past ten years of racism and repression, the criminal pigs who murdered Black youth had always been let off. But, over these ten years, Black people's pain, anger and fury kept mounting until they exploded in the militant and anti-racist struggle that, this time, made the difference in Miami.

Tricks and Lies Come to Nothing

Lozano's defense attorney used every trick in the book to try to prove Lozano's innocence. His strategy was to resort to the "McDuffie Defense." He sought delays and introduced motions to transfer the trial out of the county. Meanwhile, the sellout press tried to prove the defense's contention that Lozano shot the youths in self-defense and ran novel-like stories on the "spotless" life of the "good" agent of law and order who was being blamed for merely doing his job.

The police collaborated with this campaign by supplying the press with slanders about the murdered youths, with the aim of molding public opinion and preparing the community for an outcome favorable to Lozano.

As it turned out, the tricks and lies came to nothing. The six people who actually witnessed the act stuck to their accounts despite all the defense maneuvers to demoralize, intimidate and confuse them. In so doing, they destroyed the false "self-defense" arguments of Lozano and his lawyers.

As a result, on December 7, the cop William Lozano was found guilty of two counts of unpremeditated homicide, leading to an explosion of jubilation on the part of those responsible for this victory: the rebellious Black people of Overtown, Liberty City, Opa-Locka and Cocoanut Grove.

A Small Victory

Despite everything, this is only a small victory for one sector of the Black population in the U.S. Crimes such as Lozano's are constantly committed throughout the United States. We know that racism is an evil which we must uproot once and for all from the face of the Earth, and that this will require a great deal of struggle. But this small victory represents a big defeat for the system, whose henchmen can usually act with impunity. The guilty verdict of this cop condemns not only him, but the entire system based on racism, oppression and exploitation.

This time, the young rebels of Miami's Black community demonstrated that when we fight for justice and respect for human rights we can win. They made this clear both to the racist system and to political reaction.★

Overtown residents celebrate Lozano's conviction

lowing a disturbance at a rally inside the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem on February 21, 1965.

Malcolm X was a revolutionary African-American activist who believed in overthrowing the system. There seem to be few events commemorating the 25th anniversary of his death.

Recently there was a play called "The Meeting," based on a fictitious meeting between Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and a 30-minute overview on Malcolm X in the "Eyes On The Prize" PBS TV series.

The play and the TV presentation focus narrowly on Malcolm X's militant response to racism. The play also made him out to be a supporter of capitalism toward the end of his life, which is completely false.

Malcolm's political activism began when he read Elijah Muhammad in promoted the idea of Black businesses within the Black community, and Black men being clean and respectable, and wearing suits and ties.

They also taught that white people were "blue-eyed devils," destined for destruction at the hands of Allah. During the 1950s and 1960s, the government considered them threatening. Malcolm X was a leading spokesperson for these ideas. But he also developed a political consciousness which led him to to take positive action against racism. The Black Muslims didn't believe in political mobilization to challenge racism; they preached separation, in practice ignoring the struggle.

This was at the height of the growing influence of the moderate civil rights movement, with non-violent demonstrations against racism and to obtain the Civil Rights Acts and the Malcolm believed it possible to build alliances with revolutionary whites, but he remained a Black nationalist. He never encouraged whites to join Black-led organizations.

Malcolm X was consistent in advocating armed struggle to overthrow racist oppression in the U.S. and abroad. He often pointed to the hypocrisy of liberal whites who expected African-Americans to wait patiently and non-violently for their freedom, while the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils and the police brutalized them.

Malcolm X often attacked the mainstream civil rights leaders for their attempt to gain legitimacy through non-violent strategy. Malcolm referred to the March on Washington in August of 1963 as a "circus" because it was a sellout to the powers-that-be in the Democratic

TV portrays Malcolm X as a Black racist who wanted to destroy America and kill white people. Television has always shown the mainstream, liberal African-American leaders of the period favorably, because they were tolerable by contrast.

It was Malcolm X who influenced the Black Panthers and other radical elements of the Black movement who came later. And it was probably the same powers that destroyed them who were behind the assassination of Malcolm as well.

It's too bad that he's not alive to continue the struggle. I often wonder if he would have supported the liberation of women, gays and lesbians today. I think we should remember the total political character of Malcolm X, and should strive to build the Black liberation struggle with an anti-authoritarian strategy. ★

Miami Rebellion, January 1989

MIAMI: A Little Justice At Last

This was not the first time the Black community in the city of Miami rebelled. On previous occasions and for the same reasons, Black people took to the streets demanding respect and justice. Over the past ten years of racism and repression, the criminal pigs who murdered Black youth had always been let off. But, over these ten years, Black people's pain, anger and fury kept mounting until they exploded in the militant and anti-racist struggle that, this time, made the difference in Miami.

Tricks and Lies Come to Nothing

Lozano's defense attorney used every trick in the book to try to prove Lozano's innocence. His strategy was to resort to the "McDuffie Defense." He sought delays and introduced motions to transfer the trial out of the county. Meanwhile, the sellout press tried to prove the defense's contention that Lozano shot the youths in self-defense and ran novel-like stories on the "spotless"

William Lozano was found guilty of two counts of unpremeditated homicide, leading to an explosion of jubilation on the part of those responsible for this victory: the rebellious Black people of Overtown, Liberty City, Opa-Locka and Cocoanut Grove.

A Small Victory

Despite everything, this is only a small victory for one sector of the Black population in the U.S. Crimes such as Lozano's are constantly committed throughout the United States. We know that racism is an evil which we must uproot once and for all from the face of the Earth, and that this will require a great deal of struggle. But this small victory represents a big defeat for the system, whose henchmen can usually act with impunity. The guilty verdict of this cop condemns not only him, but the entire system based on racism, oppression and exploitation.

This time, the young rebels of Miami's Black community demonstrated

Still Too Black, Still Too Strong

BY DARRELL GORDON

IT WAS 25 YEARS AGO THAT Malcolm X was gunned down following a disturbance at a rally inside the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem on February 21, 1965.

Malcolm X was a revolutionary African-American activist who believed in overthrowing the system. There seem to be few events commemorating the 25th anniversary of his death.

Recently there was a play called "The Meeting," based on a fictitious meeting between Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and a 30-minute overview on Malcolm X in the "Eyes On The Prize" PBS TV series.

The play and the TV presentation focus narrowly on Malcolm X's militant response to racism. The play also made him out to be a supporter of capitalism toward the end of his life, which is completely false.

Malcolm's political activism began when he read Elijah Muhammad in prison. Malcolm became a member and spokesperson for the Nation of Islam in 1952. The Black Muslims promoted the idea of Black businesses within the Black community, and Black men being clean and respectable, and wearing suits and ties.

They also taught that white people were "blue-eyed devils," destined for destruction at the hands of Allah. During the 1950s and 1960s, the government considered them threatening. Malcolm X was a leading spokesperson for these ideas. But he also developed a political consciousness which led him to to take positive action against racism. The Black Muslims didn't believe in political mobilization to challenge racism; they preached separation, in practice ignoring the struggle.

This was at the height of the growing influence of the moderate civil rights movement, with non-violent demonstrations against racism and to obtain the Civil Rights Acts and the right to vote. The movement aimed to win acceptance within the system, and it generally supported the Democratic Party.

Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad came into conflict because of their different approaches to this movement. When Malcolm, commenting on President Kennedy's assassination in 1963, said "the chickens have come home to roost," he was suspended from his duties with the Muslims. He then formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Malcolm emphasized the connection between racist oppression in America and abroad. He recognized that capitalism was the major factor in racial oppression and exploitation.

Malcolm's attitude towards white people changed after his trip to Mecca in 1964, where he met white people who practiced real brotherhood. Malcolm believed it possible to build alliances with revolutionary whites, but he remained a Black nationalist. He never encouraged whites to join Black-led organizations.

Malcolm X was consistent in advocating armed struggle to overthrow racist oppression in the U.S. and abroad. He often pointed to the hypocrisy of liberal whites who expected African-Americans to wait patiently and non-violently for their freedom, while the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils and the police brutalized them.

Malcolm X often attacked the mainstream civil rights leaders for their attempt to gain legitimacy through non-violent strategy. Malcolm referred to the March on Washington in August of 1963 as a "circus" because it was a sellout to the powers-that-be in the Democratic Party.

Malcolm later expressed respect for Dr. King despite their political differences, and said that he would defend King against racist attack.

Malcolm X spoke against supporting the Democratic and Republican parties because they represented the interests of the imperialists that exploited and killed Black people. He did believe in Blacks registering to vote and learning the science of politics.

Malcolm X was the first African-American leader to speak against the intervention in Vietnam in 1965, two years before King did.

Television to this day doesn't recognize Malcolm X as an important African-American activist during the Sixties, because he was a militant spokesperson for a revolutionary Black Liberation movement.

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It was Malcolm X who influenced the Black Panthers and other radical elements of the Black movement who came later. And it was probably the same powers that destroyed them who were behind the assassination of Malcolm as well.

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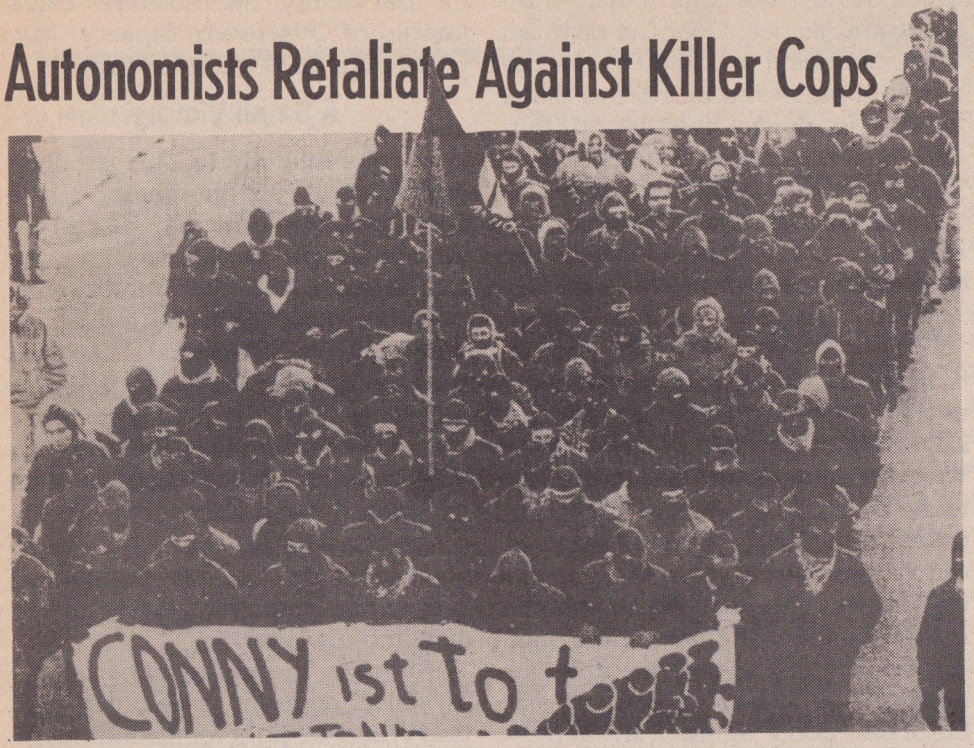
They brought in food, water and heating devices and generally enjoyed the day's accomplishment.

from *Industrial Worker*

that lawmakers go a step further. "Why not make it illegal for legislators to have sex with each other?" he asked.

from *New York Times*

Autonomists Retaliate Against Killer Cops



ON November 17, 1989, a West German anti-fascist activist named Conny was killed in Göttingen, West Germany, when police chased her into a passing car. The police were intervening in a confrontation between anti-fascists and nazi skinheads on the side of the nazis. Five hundred people marched immediately from the JUZI (youth center-autonomist squat) to the site of the murder where barricades were erected and set alight. The next day 2,000 people marched through downtown Göttingen, painting slogans and smashing bank windows. The barricades at the murder site were maintained for eight days and police were brought in from all over northern Germany. Demonstrations broke out in Hamburg, Munich, Bielefield and West Berlin. About 200 masked autonomists broke shop windows and destroyed cars in a new car lot in Kreuzberg. On November 25 a national demonstration of 15 to 20,000 people marched through Göttingen. Banks, jewellers, a department store and a cop station were attacked. Ninety-seven cops were injured, two demonstrators were hospitalized and 10 people were arrested.

from *Prison News Service*

ic gas. Riots have erupted each time the cop has been brought to court and especially when Kaltezas was first killed.

The riots ended up with an occupation of the Polytechnic in Athens early Saturday morning, an occupation which continues at the time of this writing. The occupation, called by the Students Union and anarchists, has been very successful. It is overseen by two general meetings a day which involve approximately 1,000 people (at the evening meeting). They have set up a pirate radio station inside the Polytechnic for communication and counter-information; high school students occupied 20 high schools while similar actions were taking place in other cities like Crete, Sicilonia and others. The University itself was closed for three days. Anarchists blockaded national highways and set up committees to meet with strikers who have also occupied their factories in some of the many industrial struggles going on in Greece today.

After 16 days the occupation is now winding down. The media and the State have tried to isolate the occupation and now it seems the occupiers feel it has run its course. In general it has been a positive experience, with events happening every day and a peaceful demo of 2,000 people in support, leaflets and discussions and concerts. Although the demands of the occupation as voiced by the more mainstream groups like the students and other unions (a retrial of Melistas) have been met, the anarchists have never expected what they call bourgeois justice. Their slogan from the beginning has been "Self Justice."

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Love and Rage
Box 3 Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012
ph. (212) 925-7966

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Art Decco, Raleigh NC
Billy, Brooklyn NY
Christopher Day, New York NY
Darrell Gordon, Chicago IL
Gustavo Rodriguez, Miami FL
Jessica, New York NY
Jimmy, New Orleans LA
Johnnie, Atlanta GA
Katie, Minneapolis MN
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Rachel, Madison WI
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Sunshine Smith, Berkeley CA

Production Group:
Terry, Sunshine, Ron, Paul, Marina, Larry, Julia, Joanne, Jessica, Jane, Francine, Erika, Dave, Dan, Christopher, Chris, Chris, Bruce, Bob, Billy, Bill

Issue	Deadline	Publishing Date
May	March 18	April 9
June	April 22	May 14
July	May 27	June 18

DISGUSTED with Ann Arbor city government spending money to shelter cars instead of people, the Homeless Action Committee (HAC) seized a building scheduled to be bulldozed to make way for a parking lot. The house is now being run as an organizing headquarters for HAC and a home for HAC members without permanent homes.

Hearing of HAC's plans to liberate a city council meeting and hold a People's Council on cable TV, the politicians locked City Hall's doors and moved their meeting to a bus depot on the edge of town. Over 100 demonstrators, including more than a dozen Wobblies (members of the Industrial Workers of the World), then marched to the house that had been seized earlier by HAC members. They brought in food, water and heating devices and generally enjoyed the day's accomplishment.

from *Industrial Worker*

Sex Out, West

A bill recently introduced in Olympia, Washington, would make it a crime for people under the age of 18 to engage in sex, including "heavy petting." The offenders could spend up to 90 days in jail and face a $5,000 fine, unless they decided to marry, which would make such contact legal.

The bill's sponsor, State Senator Jim West (R), has argued that if sex was illegal for teenagers, high school students would then have the excuse they need to "say no" in a moment of passion.

On hearing of the proposal, James E. Duree, a lawyer active in the state Democratic Party, wrote a letter to Senator West in which he suggested that lawmakers go a step further. "Why not make it illegal for legislators to have sex with each other?" he asked.

from *New York Times*

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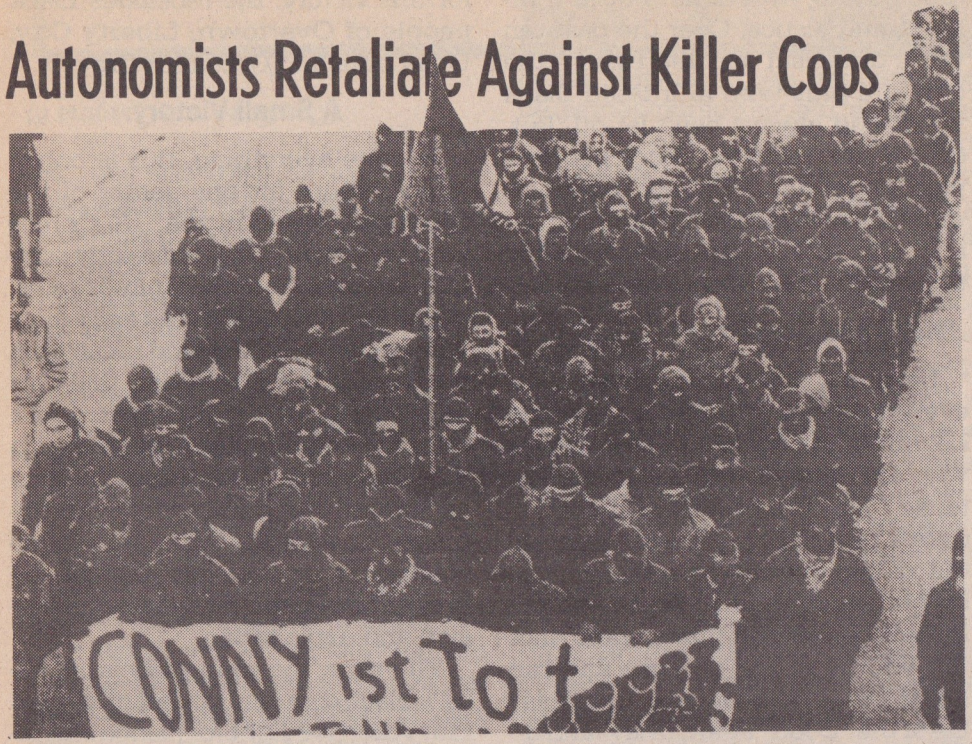

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ANARCHY IN GREECE!

ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, IN Athens, Greece, Athanasios Melistas, the cop who murdered a 15-year-old anarchist in November, 1985, went to his final appeal. Melistas shot Mihalis Kaltezas in the back of the head while he was fleeing police gunfire along with others at a demonstration. Not suprisingly, the cop was acquitted of the charges.

In response, thousands of people took to the streets in fierce riots, during which Greek cops fired over 700 rounds of gas at rioters including the internationally-banned SS gas, a panic gas. Riots have erupted each time the cop has been brought to court and especially when Kaltezas was first killed.

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If this were happening in Eastern Europe we would have seen it on the front pages; as it's just happening in Greece, and can't be blamed on communism, our media won't touch it. For our part we are inspired by it as it shows the capacity to make an impact with well organized direct action.

from *Ecomedia Bulletin Toronto*

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Notes of Revolt

Jail Riot in Chula Vista

INMATES rioted in the San Diego County Jail in Chula Vista, California, Saturday, January 6. Eighteen inmates were injured. The cell block housing the inmates was designed to hold 24 people, but held 113, almost all Black and Latino. The jail was designed to hold 192, but held 782 the night of the riot.

from *Los Angeles Times*

Ann Arbor Building Seizure

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English Nazis Attacked

ON September 9, at 3 a.m. a group called the *RED REPRISAL* attacked the London headquarters of the National Front (English nazis) in retaliation for recent National Front attacks on the gay community. It is believed that National Front supporters operating from their office were responsible for the recent attack on a gay man leaving a local pub.

from *Class War* (UK)

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April East / West Anarchist Conference In Italy

BY BOB MCGLYNN

ON April 14, 15 and 16 a conference of anarchists from both the East and West will meet in Trieste, Italy. North Americans have played a prominent role in unifying anti-authoritarians from the East and West. It's vitally important that representatives from North America attend this first-of-a-kind meeting.

NYC–Neither East Nor West would like to send a representative. It would be even better if a number of North American anarchists went. *We strongly urge anarchists in the U.S. and Canada to collectively assume the financial responsibility of getting someone(s) to this extremely important gathering.* If the thousands of you out there only sent in a dollar or two we'd have plenty for airfares plus funds to subsidize the costs of the gathering and help out anarchists from Eastern Europe.

Tax-deductible contributions can be made to the *Aspect Foundation* April Conference fund and sent to Bob McGlynn, 528 5th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215, USA. Anyone who'd like to go please contact Bob McGlynn (718-499-7720).

For more info:
Gruppo anarchico-GERMINAL
Trieste, via Mazzini 11, Italy
Telephone: 040-368096, Tuesdays and Fridays from 6 to 8 p.m.

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lease of these passions, which are considered so "evil" because of their unpredictability and power. A true revolutionary movement, which wants to crush the capitalist State and its patriarchal core, needs the reintegration of passions in its daily existence and forms of resistance.

If the capitalist system has tried to make passions another commodity sold on the market, it is because under this form, passions remain controlled and repressively de-sublimated. This has also been done with sexuality, liberal feminism, naive environmentalism and other social phenomena marginal to the system. But should we give up the realms of genuine passion which allow us to feel alive and break free from the social structures which dominate our lives? Indeed, we have got to feel our need for freedom with such passion, in order not to be coopted by the capitalist system, which has sucked in so many revolutionary dreams in exchange for comfort and security. We have got to feel this need with such intensity that to repress it would be to kill ourselves with all the hurt and pain of being suffocated alive.

Love is the emotion which allows us to reach out to one another and to fight in solidarity for the sake of life. Rage is the power which allows us the power to say "NO MORE!" and to stand and fight against the domineering, destructive mechanical Wheel of Capitalism. Only both combined can energize revolutionary anarchist theory and action.

Within this context there is a dangerous tendency lying at the

Francine
New Brunswick, NJ

Anti-Statist Socialist Supports Newspaper

Dear *Love and Rage*,

The new newspaper sounds really exciting. I am a socialist, but I like to talk and hear from anarchists alot. It seems that I usually have alot more in common with them since the majority of socialists are somewhat dry and inactive. My idea of socialism is also very utopian. I believe we should convert to total socialism in where the people own all collectively, but I'm still very anti-statist which a lot of my comrades don't agree with. I feel greatly for anarchism since I think once socialism occurs the state will gradually wither away once we realize we can live in peace without it, thus we'll live in anarchism.

I'd like to contribute as much as I can to the paper, but I presently have a problem restricting me, I have no job. I'm looking hard, but the size of this town really holds me down. Until I get work, I'd be very happy to help in any other way possible. When I get a job I'll also help happily with finances. A while back me 'n' a friend started a small punk zine and I know how tough that was, so I really sympathize with you guys. It's really a great feeling of accomplishment when it's done though isn't it?

For Liberation,
Jeff Paczkowski
Lowell, Indiana

A dead sailor from Kronstadt

Taking Anarchy Off the Shelf

Dear *L&R*:

I'm writing to express and reaffirm my support for the *Love and Rage* project. I feel sure that time will eventually win over those currently skeptical of this endeavor, just as time will eventually expose the cynical self-interest of our harshest critics. As Anarchism itself is a living, growing social philosophy, *Love and Rage* will grow and develop as time and common sense dictate. Here's to a publication where age and experience will meet youth and energy, where the need to destroy will meet (and em-

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I dreamed I was raped. It was so real I woke up in terror. I saw the movie *The Accused*, a true story about a woman that was raped by a group of men. The movie's rape scene was very explicit, for which I am glad, it shows that rape is *not* a sexual act but a violent, physical one.

In fact I was raped almost 20 years ago, then about 15 years ago and again attacked by a man who forced me into his truck. Luckily, I got away by fighting with him. When the police took me to a nearby hospital, the nurse who worked in the Emergency Room, who knew me, as I had worked in that hospital

(Continued on page 14)

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Women, for instance, were traditionally associated with the realm of emotions and passions. Because they could arouse passions, they were seen as dangerous. Hence part of the need to subjugate them. Women in all patriarchal cultures were kept hidden behind a kitchen door, or behind a veil, etc. . . ., rendered invisible in order to keep these passions under control, and the world devoid of any unpredictable and uncontrollable emotions. The teenage girl dragged into the woods where she would be mutilated between her legs, or the woman who bore an awful belt around her waist locking between her thighs, were also means which ensured that women were deprived of the possibility to explore their own passions. Devoid of passions, human beings become easily manageable and exploitable.

Hence, the liberation of women, or others subjected to exploitation, is intrinsically linked with the release of these passions, which are considered so "evil" because of their unpredictability and power. A true revolutionary movement, which wants to crush the capitalist State and its patriarchal core, needs the reintegration of passions in its daily existence and forms of resistance.

If the capitalist system has tried to make passions another commodity sold on the market, it is because under this form, passions remain controlled and repressively de-sublimated. This has also been done with sexuality, liberal feminism, naive environmentalism and other social phenomena marginal to the system. But should we give up the realms of genuine passion which allow us to feel alive and break free from the social structures which dominate our lives? Indeed, we have got to feel our need for freedom with such passion, in order

cultivation of passions, neither being drowned by, nor repressing them. One of the purposes of the newsmonthly is to inform us on both theory and praxis, not excluding one for the other; in actuality they feed and nurture each other.

I'll end by saying that "Crimes of Passion" may only be a bursting out of strong emotions which we never learned to deal with, because they were (and are) considered so negative and dangerous and can really upset the pre-determined world we know. I love theory and reason, but devoid of passion they become only another form of knowledge which sides with the existing patriarchal system, dictating how we should view our world. *Love and Rage* is right on as a name for our newspaper — it exemplifies the return of the repressed, and the breaking free of the human mind against a system which has held us down much too long.

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sicians, as many Black Nationalist and other Ultra-Leftists purport. Elvis was gifted, and he was a gift to the entire human species. He had psychic links to a great civilization in a galaxy, many light years away. These people have been to Earth several times. They are the same ones who built the ancient site of Zimbabwe, which is now ruins. They made those lines in the ground in South America, you know the ones I mean? Some would-be anthropologists — read, anthro-apologists — now claim that these were actually built by natives there thousands of years before Europeans learned how to take a bath. Shows what they know.

So please spare us any twaddle about how New Age is some kind of game for comfortable whites to escape the "reality of material conditions" because I'm in a position to know and YOU AREN'T.

A dead sailor from Kronstadt

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Mike Kohlhoff
Workers Solidarity Alliance
San Francisco, CA

Pessimist Unenthusiastic

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Your new paper, as far as I can tell, seems to be coming from the more dreary leftist types within the anti-authoritarian milieu, so I'm not overly enthusiastic, but at least we can exchange propaganda or whatever.

Take Care,
Michael William
Demolition Derby
Montreal, CANADA

Rape is Violence

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I dreamed I was raped. It was so real I woke up in terror. I saw the movie *The Accused*, a true story about a woman that was raped by a group of men. The movie's rape scene was very explicit, for which I am glad, it shows that rape is *not* a sexual act but a violent, physical one.

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(Continued on page 14)

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Letters

Theory and Passion

Dear *Love and Rage*,

When I read the letter disagreeing with the name *Love and Rage* (in *Love and Rage* Discussion Bulletin #4), because these are passions and thus dangerous, I shrieked. This kind of thinking can be seen as a dangerous perpetuation of patriarchy and its obsession with controlling, dominating and exploiting humans and the natural world.

Women, for instance, were traditionally associated with the realm of emotions and passions. Because they could arouse passions, they were seen as dangerous. Hence part of the need to subjugate them. Women in all patriarchal cultures were kept hidden behind a kitchen door, or behind a veil, etc. . . . , rendered invisible in order to keep these passions under control, and the world devoid of any unpredictable and uncontrollable emotions. The teenage girl dragged into the woods where she would be mutilated between her legs, or the woman who bore an awful belt around her waist locking between her thighs, were also means which ensured that women were deprived of the possibility to explore their own passions. Devoid of passions, human beings become easily manageable and exploitable.

Hence, the liberation of women, or others subjected to exploitation, is intrinsically linked with the reroot of many social movements (e.g., Spiritual New Age) to overemphasize a realm which has been historically devalued (e.g., passions and emotions) and to undermine the realm which has been overvalued (e.g., reason). We need to learn to appreciate both as different aspects of the mind in a dynamic and mutual way, which doesn't perpetuate the type of dichotomous thinking inherent in patriarchy. Our Reason needs to be balanced by the cultivation of passions, neither being drowned by, nor repressing them. One of the purposes of the newsmonthly is to inform us on both theory and praxis, not excluding one for the other; in actuality they feed and nurture each other.

I'll end by saying that "Crimes of Passion" may only be a bursting out of strong emotions which we never learned to deal with, because they were (and are) considered so negative and dangerous and can really upset the pre-determined world we know. I love theory and reason, but devoid of passion they become only another form of knowledge which sides with the existing patriarchal system, dictating how we should view our world. *Love and Rage* is right on as a name for our newspaper — it exemplifies the return of the repressed, and the breaking free of the human mind against a system which has held us down much too long.

Speaking From the Grave

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I just want to say that I had a bad premonition that all you militant, politically-correct anarchists were going to disparage a lot of stuff about New Age in this newspaper of yours. You backwards pseudo-revolutionary cronies! I'll have you know that it is only through such recent developments as channelling that I am able to communicate with you from the hereafter at all, so deal with it.

That said, I want to clear up a few misconceptions about Elvis. The King was not a shameless huckster who brazenly stole his entire act from African-American musicians, as many Black Nationalist and other Ultra-Leftists purport. Elvis was gifted, and he was a gift to the entire human species. He had psychic links to a great civilization in a galaxy, many light years away. These people have been to Earth several times. They are the same ones who built the ancient site of Zimbabwe, which is now ruins. They made those lines in the ground in South America, you know the ones I mean? Some would-be anthropologists — read, anthro-apologists — now claim that these were actually built by natives there thousands of years before Europeans learned how to take a bath. Shows what they know.

So please spare us any twaddle about how New Age is some kind of game for comfortable whites to escape the "reality of material conditions" because I'm in a position to know and YOU AREN'T.

A dead sailor from Kronstadt

brace) the need to create.

I'm hoping that *Love and Rage* will help us to build an Anarchist movement rooted once more among the working class (the only honest class in town). It is time to take Anarchism off of the bookshelf, out of the colleges and into the streets. I'm hoping that *Love and Rage* will help us to revitalize the creative energies of the Anarchist movement, to encourage the formation of militant communes, alternative schools, revolutionary unions, community collectives of all kinds. Here's to Anarchism and working class revolution, here's to *Love and Rage*. Hasta la victoria.

Solidarity,
Mike Kohlhoff
Workers Solidarity Alliance
San Francisco, CA

Pessimist Unenthusiastic

Dear *Love and Rage*,

Your new paper, as far as I can tell, seems to be coming from the more dreary leftist types within the anti-authoritarian milieu, so I'm not overly enthusiastic, but at least we can exchange propaganda or whatever.

Take Care,
Michael William
Demolition Derby
Montreal, CANADA

Rape is Violence

EAST BAY WOMEN: SMASHING SEXISM CENTER

NEWS FROM THE EAST BLOC ON GOGOL BOULEVARD 12

SANDINISTAS DEFEATED 5

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS 9

MALCOLM X 4

PRISONER SUPPORT NEWS

South Africa Will Be Free

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

"AMANDLA! NGAWETHU! I-Afrika! Mayibuye!" were the shouts that greeted the ears of Nelson Mandela after 27-and-a-half years in apartheid's dungeons. The chants were Xhosa for "Power! It is ours! Africa! Let it come back!" The release of the world's best known political prisoner followed the rapid legalization of banned organizations including Mandela's African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.

The release of Mandela and other political prisoners, the legalization of banned organizations, the withdrawal of South African Defense Forces from Namibia and Angola are events for celebration. They are victories won through the strength and determination of South Africa's Black majority.

Why Now?

After decades of intransigence, why has the racist regime suddenly conceded so much? Simply, they had little choice. All the bannings, jailings and murders under martial law had not contained the rage of those who have lived so long under the white supremacists' boot. The South African economy is staggering under the weight of increasing sanctions and the huge State apparatus enforcing white minority rule. The victory of SWAPO (the South West African People's Organization) in Namibia exposed the weakness of the apartheid State. The events in Eastern Europe have also had their impact. The rapid fall of one tyranny after another is an inspiration to oppressed people everywhere. And what brings a smile to the oppressed strikes fear in the hearts of power and privilege. President F.W. de Klerk has no desire to be the Ceaucescu of South Africa. The events in Eastern Europe have also had their effect on

(Continued on page 7)

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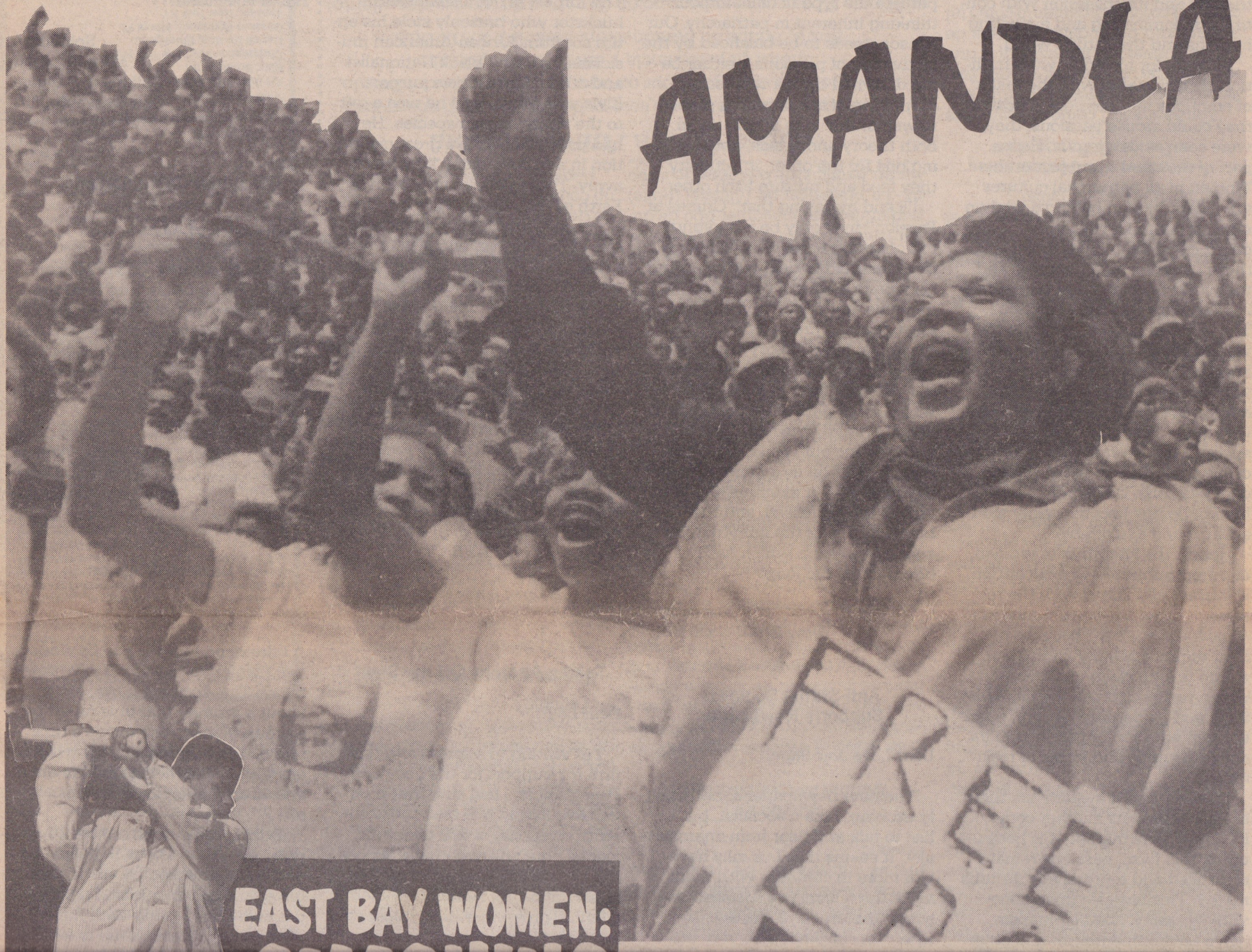
AMANDLA



EAST BAY WOMEN:

LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly · $1

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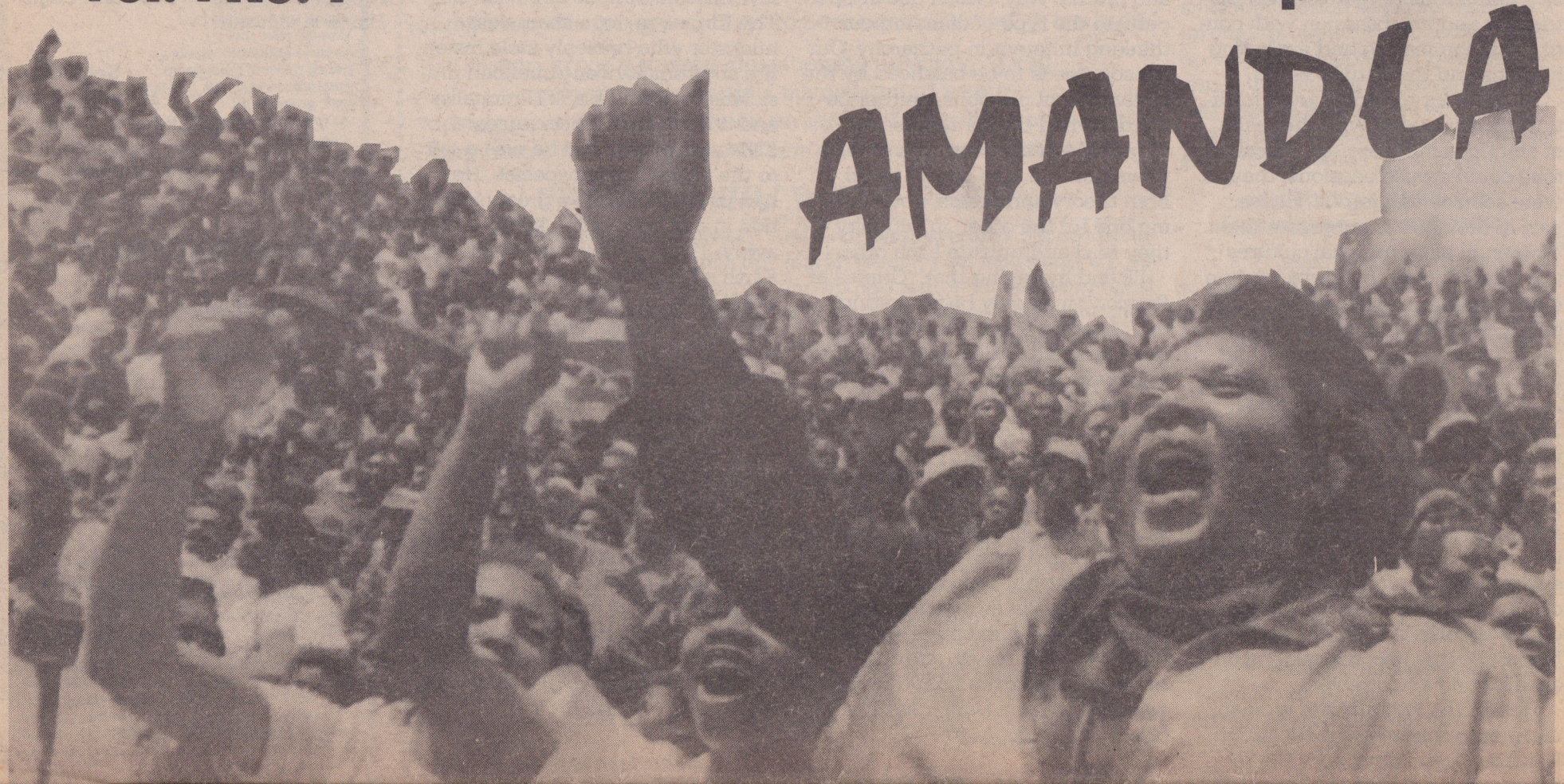

AMANDLA